

## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

In the past year, two legendary figures in papyrological studies in North America have left us. Both of them were connected in different capacities with the papyrus collection at the University of Michigan: Mrs. Louise C. Youtie, the longstanding guardian of the collection, and G. Michael Brown, one of the last students of Herbert C. Youtie. Both will be very missed. Their respective obituaries, written by Ann E. Hanson, and Stephen M. Bay and Maryline G. Parca correspondingly, appear in the beginning of the volume.

The present volume of *BASP* is divided into two main sections. The first contains publications, republications, and discussions of literary and documentary texts, as well as several essays on various aspects of Graeco-Roman Egypt (pp. 39-169). The second section consists of reviews of recent publications (pp. 171-188). Contributions in both sections are arranged alphabetically by author name.

Five editorial innovations are being introduced with this issue of *BASP*. First, electronic submissions should be sent in Rich Text Format (RTF) and should be accompanied by a printed version or a PDF (with embedded fonts) to be used for verification of typesetting and layout. Submissions should no longer be sent on floppy or zip disks. Second, we ask that each author provide a short abstract of the contribution for inclusion in *L'Année philologique*. Third, printing of the *Bulletin* will be generated directly from the digital file. Fourth, the primary author(s) of published contributions will receive 25 offprints free of charge and a copy of the PDF file used for publication. Fifth, the URLs for papyri published in the *Bulletin* that are already available on line will appear under the respective contribution in the Table of Contents reproduced in the ASP homepage ([www.papyrology.org](http://www.papyrology.org)). Please visit the site and check the section on *BASP*.

The present issue was produced output-ready in the Papyrology Rooms, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library, University of Michigan, on a Mac G5 computer. The editors wish to express their thanks to the University for making its facilities available to the *Bulletin* and would like to acknowledge in particular a generous editorial subvention from the Dorot Foundation. Such support is vital for the continued publication and improvement of *BASP* and is always appreciated. Finally, I personally wish to thank Terry Szymanski, my editorial assistant and

papyrology webmaster at the University of Michigan. Terry's training in Classics and Papyrology and his expertise in modern technology have been invaluable in the preparation of this volume and the introduction of the innovations described above.

Traianos Gagos  
Editor-in-Chief



† Louise C. Youtie  
(1909-2004)

Louise Canberg Youtie died at age 94 on Wednesday, February 18, 2004, at Heartland Healthcare Center in Ann Arbor, Michigan, where she had resided since January 1999. Her general health declined in the last few years, and she was increasingly plagued by deafness; nonetheless, her mind remained alert and her interests in others never flagged until her final, thankfully brief, illness. Louise was born on August 30, 1909 in Grand Rapids, Michigan, the eldest of the three daughters of Oscar and Mabel Canberg. She was educated at the University of Michigan, finishing her bachelor's degree in the Department of Greek in 1932 and her master's degree in 1933. From the time of her marriage to Professor Herbert Chayyim

Youtie in 1934 onward she was a tireless worker in Michigan's papyrology collections, and her bibliography shows the fruit of one aspect of her constant labors. Her scholarship was meticulous and deep, yet without affectation or needless verbiage. She gracefully blended practicality with a fine sense of humor, clearly rejoicing in the life of the mind she shared with her husband and all those who spent time in the various areas of the library in which Michigan papyri were housed in the early years. Once special quarters were prepared for the collection on the eighth floor of Hatcher Graduate Library, the Youties spent most of their days in Room 807, absenting themselves only occasionally for working visits to London and Oxford, Brussels, and Cologne. From the front windows of their apartment on East University they could also see the eighth floor of Hatcher, and at night would glance over from home to see if the lights were still burning in Room 807. Many of us have the warmest memories of Louise, beginning with our days as students, for she was also indefatigable in the efforts she expended for others: verifying readings on the papyrus for all who asked, reading transcripts, securing photographs, and xeroxing materials available only in 807. She was a particularly skillful reader of documentary hands, with a keen and accurate eye and a meticulous concern that every detail of a publication be correct.

Louise not only kept the secret of *Collectanea Papyrologica. Texts Published in Honor of H.C. Youtie*, but also contributed editions of 24 mummy labels from the Michigan collection to that publication of 1975-6 (*P.Coll.Youtie* 97-120). After Herbert's death in February 1980, she continued to publish vigorously, and was an active participant in the uniting of her five-part publication of "The Michigan Medical Codex" in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 65-70 (1986-7) into the monograph *The Michigan Medical Codex*, which appeared in 1996. She also read early versions of what became chapters three and six in J. Rowlandson (ed.), *Women & Society in Greek & Roman Egypt* (Cambridge 1998), catching a number of mistakes and making useful suggestions at many points. It was only in the last years that Louise's vigorous involvement with papyri, both documents and those of medical content, grew gradually less. With her death, papyrologists and papyrology itself have lost a steadfast and caring friend.



The photograph of Louise reproduced here is probably to be dated to the late 1940s or early 1950s. A later photograph of Louise and Herbert together, along with another obituary for her, may be viewed at <http://www.ulb.ac.be/assoc/aip/youtie.htm>.

## Bibliography of Louise C. Youtie

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2. [with Dieter Hagedorn and H.C. Youtie (eds.)], *Urkunden aus Panopolis* (Bonn 1980). Republication of "Urkunden aus Panopolis I-III."
3. *The Michigan Medical Codex* (*P.Mich.* XVII 758 = *P.Mich.* inv. 21). *Am.Stud.Pap.* 35 (Atlanta 1996). Republication, expanded and corrected, of "The Michigan Medical Codex. *P.Mich.* inv. 21 (I)-(V)."

### ARTICLES

1. "P.Merton II 75: The Subscription," *ZPE* 6 (1970) 44-6.
2. [with Dieter Hagedorn and H.C. Youtie], "Urkunden aus Panopolis I," *ZPE* 7 (1971) 1-40 (= *P.Panop.* 1-14 = *SB* XII 10968-81).
3. [with Dieter Hagedorn and H.C. Youtie], "Documents from Panopolis II," *ZPE* 8 (1971) 207-34 (= *P.Panop.* 15-9 = *SB* XII 10992-6).
4. [with Dieter Hagedorn and H.C. Youtie], "Urkunden aus Panopolis III," *ZPE* 10 (1973) 101-70 (= *P.Panop.* 20-31 = *SB* XII 11213-24).
5. [with H.C. Youtie and William Kneale], "P.Mich. inv. 2906: A Fragment of Logic," *ZPE* 10 (1973) 175-85. Republished in H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* I (Bonn 1981) 67-77.
6. "P.Gen. inv. 211 and P.Mich. inv. 864," *ZPE* 10 (1973) 186-8.
7. "Ghost-Names," *ZPE* 11 (1973) 271-3.
8. "P.London III 1170 and the Strategos Julius Isidorus," *ZPE* 13 (1974) 151-60.

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10. "Ναοπηγὸς: A Ghost Word," *ZPE* 14 (1974) 178.
11. "Notes on Mummy Labels," *ZPE* 15 (1974) 17-26.
12. "A Second Century Taxpayer at Theadelphia," *ZPE* 17 (1975) 258-9.
13. "A Sixth-Century Scribe of Arsinoe," *ZPE* 18 (1975) 258-60.
14. "Hypographeis and Witnesses of 2<sup>nd</sup> Century Tebtunis," *ZPE* 19 (1975) 191-201.
15. "Notes on Subscriptions," *ZPE* 18 (1975) 213-23.
16. "Three Medical Prescriptions for Eye-Salves. P.Mich. inv. 482" in *Le monde grec. Hommages à Claire Préaux* (Brussels 1975) 555-63.
17. "BGU I 318; III 727; 740; SB VI 9281," *ZPE* 20 (1976) 83-6.
18. "A Terminus Post Quem for the Oxyrhynchus Phaedrus," *ZPE* 21 (1976) 14.
19. "P.Oxy. VII 1044," *ZPE* 21 (1976) 1-13.
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21. "Notes on Michigan Papyri," *ZPE* 21 (1976) 209-15.
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23. "Mummy Labels" in *Collectanea Papyrologica. Texts Published in Honor of H.C. Youtie* II (Bonn 1976) 627-52.
24. "Notes on Subscriptions," *BASP* 13 (1976) 81-4.
25. "A Sale of Wheat in Advance: P.Mich. inv. 3036," *ZPE* 24 (1977) 140-2.
26. "A Liturgical Memorandum (P.Mich. inv. 1033)," *ZPE* 26 (1977) 293-6.
27. "O.Bodl. II 2182 and 2185," *BASP* 14 (1977) 39-43.
28. "P.Cair.Isidor. 8, Again," *ZPE* 26 (1977) 296-300.
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30. "Two Michigan Medical Papyri," *ZPE* 27 (1977) 140-6.

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33. "P.Mich. inv. 1355 Recto: Account of Grain," *ZPE* 30 (1978) 177-86.
34. "A Lost Geographical Name," *ZPE* 31 (1978) 180.
35. [with H.C. Youtie], "Three Declarations of Uninundated Land," *ZPE* 33 (1979) 193-200. Republished in H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* II (Bonn 1982) 505-12.
36. [with H.C. Youtie], "P.Mich. inv. 1347: Sitologos Report and Oil Account," *ZPE* 33 (1979) 201-6. Republished in H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* II (Bonn 1982) 513-8.
37. "YIH: A Bonafide Form?" *ZPE* 33 (1979) 209-10.
38. "*P.Grenf.* I 52," *BASP* 16 (1979) 149-51.
39. "*P.Wisc.* II 44," *ZPE* 33 (1979) 213-4.
40. "P.Mich. inv. 5576: α φαργάνιος," *ZPE* 33 (1979) 215-6.
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42. "Receipt for τέλος καταλοχισμῶν. P.Mich. inv. 6185," *ZPE* 38 (1980) 273-6.
43. "Receipt for τέλος καταλοχισμῶν. P.Princ. III 131, Revised," *ZPE* 38 (1980) 277-80.
44. "Receipt for τέλος καταλοχισμῶν. P.Harris 77, Revised," *ZPE* 38 (1980) 281-3.
45. "Notes on Texts Pertaining to Catoecic Registry," *ZPE* 40 (1980) 78-80.
46. [with H.C. Youtie], "A Medical Papyrus" in *Scritti in onore di Orsolina Montevicchi* (Bologna 1981) 431-6. Republished in H.C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* II (Bonn 1982) 683-7.
47. "P.Fay. 338: A Day-Book of Tax Payments in Kind on Imperial Estates," *ZPE* 41 (1981) 271-4.
48. "Petition to an Epistrategos," *ZPE* 42 (1981) 81-8.
49. "Declaration of Uninundated Land: P.Mich. inv. 6189a," *ZPE* 42 (1981) 89-90.
50. "ΦΕΝΤΥΜΙΣ: A False Place-Name," *BASP* 18 (1981) 173-5.
51. "Geographical Notes," *BASP* 19 (1982) 87-94.

52. "P.Mich. inv. 2459b: A Petition to an Acting Strategos," *ZPE* 46 (1982) 223-6.
53. [with H.C. Youtie], "A Medical Catechism," in *Scriptiunculae Posteriores* II (Bonn 1982) 688-90 (= *P.Turner* 14).
54. "P.Fay. 243 verso: Topography in the Themistos Meris," *ZPE* 50 (1983) 51-5.
55. "Mitt.Papyr.Erz.Rain. N.S. XIII, No. 4," *ZPE* 50 (1983) 56-8.
56. "Lost Examples of ἔξοπτος," *ZPE* 50 (1983) 59-60.
57. "Medical Recipes on Vellum," *ZPE* 51 (1983) 71-4.
58. "παλλίολον γλοιὸν ἐπικάριον," *ZPE* 53 (1983) 232-4.
59. "Mitt.Papyr.Erz.Rain. N.S. XIII, No. 3," *ZPE* 53 (1983) 229-31.
60. "ΟΛΟΛΙΤΟΣ: A Ghost Word?" *ZPE* 54 (1984) 246.
61. [with Eric G. Turner, David H. Fowler, and Ludwig Koenen], "Euclid, Elements I, Definitions 1-10 (*P.Mich.* III 143)," in N. Lewis (ed.), *Papyrology*. Yale Classical Studies 28 (1985) 13-24.
62. "*P.Haun.* III 47, Supplemented," *BASP* 22 (1985) 365-73.
63. "The Michigan Medical Codex. P.Mich. inv. 21 (I)," *ZPE* 65 (1986) 123-49.
64. "The Michigan Medical Codex. P.Mich. inv. 21 (II)," *ZPE* 66 (1986) 149-56.
65. "καὶ βαπτίτα βλέφαρα," in *Miscel·lània Papirològica Ramon Roca-Puig* (Barcelona 1987) 341-2.
66. "The Michigan Medical Codex. P.Mich. inv. 21 (III)," *ZPE* 67 (1987) 83-95.
67. "The Michigan Medical Codex. P.Mich. inv. 21 (IV)," *ZPE* 69 (1987) 163-9.
68. "The Michigan Medical Codex. P.Mich. inv. 21 (V)," *ZPE* 70 (1987) 73-103.

ANN E. HANSON

*Yale University*

## †G. Michael Browne (1943-2004)

The untimely death of G. Michael Browne on August 30, 2004 shocked his friends, students, and colleagues at the University of Illinois and robbed the field of Classical Studies of one of its most accomplished practitioners. Although he proudly recalled his early work in documentary papyrology, Michael's vast philological expertise knew none of the disciplinary boundaries traditionally associated with Classics as most classicists think of their field. The journals in which his scholarship appears range from those central to Classical philology, e.g. *ZPE*, *Mnemosyne*, and *AJP*, to those generally found in other parts of the library, e.g. *Orientalia*, *Beiträge zur Sudanforschung*, and *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. He described his own research interests as the critical editing and textual criticism of texts written in Arabic, Armenian, Blemmyan, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Greek, Latin, Lydian, Old Nubian, Sanskrit, and Syriac.

As Howard Jacobson aptly observed on the occasion of Michael's retirement in May 2003, "The story of Michael's becoming a classical philologist tells us a lot about him. In his teen-age years Michael was thinking of becoming a biologist. He was particularly interested in the great Leuvenhook's work and so he decided he should read the scientist's writings—in the Latin, as they were initially published, of course. Since he'd had a few years of Latin, he felt confident he could do this. The Latin turned out to be impenetrable. Frustrated and dismayed, Michael determined to learn enough Latin so as to be able to read Leuvenhook. *Alea iacta est* and Michael became a classicist."<sup>1</sup>

A native of Detroit, Michael completed his undergraduate and graduate education at the University of Michigan. He taught at

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<sup>1</sup> "Remarks upon G.M. Browne's Retirement," in S.M. Bay (ed.), *Studia Palaeophilologica* (Champaign, Ill. 2004) xi.

Harvard from 1968 to 1973 and joined the University of Illinois in 1974. Michael's early career was devoted to papyrology; he served as one of the first editors of *BASP*, and established and directed the American Center of the International Photographic Archive of Papyri at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He next worked mostly in Coptic Studies, which he later "abandoned" for Old Nubian, producing the first Old Nubian Dictionary.

Since Michael did object to the kind of dry tribute unavoidably served to departed colleagues, and would surely fault our own well-meaning attempt, it seemed best to us to let him speak. He would appreciate the twist, and would undoubtedly point to the conventions of Greek and Roman epitaphs. In hindsight, Michael's own Valedictory Address does indeed read as if he meant it for such occasion:

Originally I had planned to be a concert violinist. Fortunately, Mr. Michael Franco, my music teacher, in a moment of exasperation told me that I was a remarkably good violinist for someone who had no talent, and that if I really worked at it, I might end up in the back of the second violin section of a minor symphony orchestra. To Mr. Franco, who steered me from the wrong path, I am grateful.

I am also grateful to Professor Herbert Youtie, the director of my dissertation (in documentary papyrology). He taught me what philological scholarship is and how one should pursue it. An offhand remark of his is responsible for the present occasion. "Gerald"—he once said (refusing to call me "Michael": far too intimate)—"Gerald, when a scholar is 60 years old, he must incorporate into his life the fact of death and undertake nothing that he cannot expect to finish." Realizing that it might be inconvenient to drop dead in the middle of a semester, I've decided that now, in the 60<sup>th</sup> year of my life, it is proper to retire. Not that I expect my demise in the near future: Professor Youtie lived to be 75—productive until the final curtain fell, and in this (as in so much else) I hope to emulate him.

Finally I have a debt of gratitude to Professor Miroslav Marcovich, who had the courage (despite the obvious dangers involved) to push through my promotion to indefinite tenure. Without his courage, I would never have had the time uninterruptedly to pursue my studies.

Speaking of my studies: when still a lowly assistant professor at Harvard, I happened to notice that George Goold, then chairman of the department, had penciled in the margin of the table of contents of an issue of *HSCP* that had just appeared: "Too much papyrology!" I then realized that my days at Harvard were numbered.

Contrast Goold's attitude with my experience at the U(niversity) of I(llinois), where shortly after my arrival an entire volume of *ICS* was inten-

tionally devoted to papyrology. This was...one of the great strengths of this university: to reward research, however obscure, as long as it added to human knowledge. Indeed, it is hard to imagine that any other university would encourage a member of its classics department to go to (if not beyond) the very periphery of the discipline and to devote over a quarter century to the study of Old Nubian. In this context I'm reminded of the first thing Miroslav Marcovich said to me when we met: "How many pages you published?" I knew then that I had found a home.

About Old Nubian I have only to say that I pursued it for the same reason that I bought a Yugo: I felt it needed me. ...

My 30 years in Urbana have been a wonderful time, filled with enough uninterrupted hours to pursue a philological career with some degree of success and with a great deal of personal satisfaction. Not having an orthodox belief system to support me, and refusing to succumb to the make-it-up-as-you-go-along spirituality of this our darkling and narcissistic age, I have ever sought solace in the secular salvation of textual criticism, remembering—with Erasmus—that unless we purify our texts, we can never hope to purify ourselves.

Let me now...(express) my gratitude to all of you here assembled: you have, in ways both great and small, enriched my sojourn here, and I thank you.

We, his colleagues, students, and friends, are grateful to him for enriching ours.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> We thank Traianos Gagos for including G.M. Browne's bio-bibliography, first published in his *Studia Palaeophilologica* and here updated by S.M. Bay.

## Bibliography of Gerald M. Browne

Born: 13 December 1943, Detroit, Michigan (of Walter W. and Marjorie M. [née Eckhard] Browne)

Died: 30 August 2004, Urbana, Illinois

### EDUCATION

AB, University of Michigan 1965

AM, University of Michigan 1966

PhD, University of Michigan 1968

### ACADEMIC POSITIONS

1968-69, Instructor in the Classics, Harvard University

1969-70, Lecturer on the Classics, Harvard University

1970-73, Assistant Professor of the Classics, Harvard University

1973-74, Junior Fellow of the Center for Hellenic Studies

1974-75, Assistant Professor of the Classics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

1975-80, Associate Professor of the Classics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

1980-2003, Professor of the Classics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

2003-2004, Professor Emeritus of the Classics, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

### RESEARCH INTERESTS

Critical editing and textual criticism in Arabic (especially Arabic transmission of Greek texts), Armenian, Blemmyan, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Greek, Latin, Lydian, Old Nubian, Sanskrit and Syriac.



## EDITORIAL POSITIONS

- 1974-88, Editor of the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*  
 1987-00, Editor of the *Journal of Coptic Studies*  
 2000-02, Acting Editor of *Illinois Classical Studies*  
 2002-04, Editor of *Illinois Classical Studies*

## AWARDS, HONORS AND RECOGNITIONS

- 1968, Honorary Research Assistant, University College London  
 1978, NEH Grant to establish American Center of the International Photographic Archive of Papyri at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Director until 1994  
 1984, Visiting Fellow, Clare Hall, University of Cambridge  
 1986, Invited to give the main paper on Old Nubian linguistics at the International Conference for Nubian Studies, Uppsala, 11-16 August 1986  
 1986, Visiting Professor of Egyptology and Sudan Archaeology, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, German Democratic Republic  
 1994, Associate, Center for Advanced Study, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign  
 2000, Invited to give the main paper on Coptic linguistics at the 7th International Coptic Congress, Leiden, 27 Aug.-2 Sept. 2000

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

(N.B. \* = Book or Monograph)

1967

1. "A Receipt for Περιγινόμενα," *BASP* 4 (1967) 23-6.
2. "A Lease of Land from Oxyrhynchus," *BASP* 4 (1967) 49-52.

1968

3. "Withdrawal from Lease," *BASP* 5 (1968) 17-24.

4. "A Papyrus of Aristides, Panathenaikos," *ZPE* 2 (1968) 171-5 (with A. Henrichs).

## 1969

5. "Two Land Leases from First-Century Tebtunis," *BASP* 6 (1969) 5-12.
6. "Note on BGU XI 2116," *ZPE* 4 (1969) 45-6.
7. "Notes on Leiden Ostraca," *ZPE* 4 (1969) 193-6.

## 1970

8. "Three Papyri from Fourth-Century Karanis," *HSCP* 74 (1970) 317-31.
- 9.\* *Documentary Papyri from the Michigan Collection*. Am.Stud.Pap. 6 (Toronto 1970).
10. "Κρεοπωλική καὶ ταριχηρά," in D.H. Samuel (ed.), *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology* (Toronto 1970) 63-8.
11. "Note on P.Wisconsin I 30," *ZPE* 5 (1970) 23-4.
12. "Α ὁμολογία ἐνοικίσεως from First-Century Bacchias," *BASP* 7 (1970) 13-6.
13. "The Composition of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*," *BICS* 17 (1970) 95-100.
14. "A First-Century Penthemeros Certificate," *CdÉ* 45 (1970) 135-9.
15. "Note on P.Bon. 30," *ZPE* 6 (1970) 267-9.

## 1971

16. "Coptico-Graeca: the Sahidic Version of St. Athanasius' *Vita Antonii*," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 59-64.
17. "Late Roman Papyri from the Michigan Collection," *HSCP* 75 (1971) 177-90.
18. Review of E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*, in *Archaeology* 24 (1971) 79.

19. "Zu der griechisch-koptischen Rezension der Menander-sentenzen," *ZPE* 8 (1971) 105-8 (with L. Koenen).
20. Review of R.O. Fink, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, in *CW* 65 (1971) 132-3.
21. Review of J. Schwartz, *Papyri variae Alexandrinae et Gissenses*, in *BASP* 8 (1971) 25-6.
- 22.\* *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. XXXVIII (London 1971) (co-author).

## 1972

23. Review of E. Kiessling, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten, Band X*, in *BASP* 9 (1972) 109-10.
- 24.\* *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. XLI (London 1972) (co-author).
25. "Ostraca Harvardiana," *HSCP* 76 (1972) 245-58.
26. "Note on P.IFAO I 1," *ZPE* 9 (1972) 193-4.
27. Review of F. Sbordone, *Ricerche sui Papiri Ercolanesi, Vol. I*, in *AJP* 93 (1972) 635-6.

## 1973

28. "A Note on Coptic ΤΕΡΝΑ-," *CdÉ* 48 (1973) 203-4.
29. "On the Text of the Phoinikika of Lollianos," *ZPE* 10 (1973) 77.

## 1974

30. "Textual Notes on Nag Hammadi Codex VI," *ZPE* 13 (1974) 305-9.
31. "Ad P.Oxy. XXXIV 2705," in E. Kießling and H.A. Rupprecht (edd.), *Akten des XIII. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Marburg/Lahn, 2. bis 6. August 1971* (Munich 1974) 53-9.
32. "Ad P.Colon. Inv.Nr. 10.213," *ZPE* 14 (1974) 51-2.
- 33.\* *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi*. Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie 58 (Meisenheim am Glan 1974).
34. "The Martyrdom of Paese and Thecla," *CdÉ* 49 (1974) 201-5.

- 35. "Two Private Letters from the Michigan Collection," *BASP* 11 (1974) 39-43.
- 36. "The End of Menander's *Perikeiromene*," *BICS* 21 (1974) 43-54.

## 1975

- 37. "Textual Notes on the Exegesis on the Soul," *BASP* 12 (1975) 1-8.
- 38. "A Panegyrist from Panopolis," *Proceedings of the XIV International Congress of Papyrologists, Oxford, 24-31 July 1974* (London 1975) 29-33.
- 39. "A Fragment of a Coptic Psalter," *BASP* 12 (1975) 67-9.
- 40. "Notes on the Gospel of the Egyptians," *BASP* 12 (1975) 103-5.
- 41.\* *Michigan Papyri* (P.Mich.XII). Am.Stud.Pap. 14 (Toronto 1975).
- 42. "The Vienna Papyrus of Kingdoms IV," *BASP* 12 (1975) 145-50.
- 43. "Notes on the Sahidic Gospel of Mark," *Enchoria* 5 (1975) 9-11.
- 44. "Marginalia to P.Mil.Copti 1," *Enchoria* 5 (1975) 181-2.

## 1976

- 45. "The Origin and Date of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*," *ICS* 1 (1976) 53-8.
- 46. "Notes on Coptic Literary Papyri," *BASP* 13 (1976) 1-4.
- 47. "The Gospel of Mark in Fayumic Coptic," *BASP* 13 (1976) 41-3.
- 48. Review of B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri*, in *AJP* 97 (1976) 190-1.
- 49. "A Coptic Letter from the Michigan Collection," *BASP* 13 (1976) 89-91.
- 50. "Property Belonging to Aurelia Senpasis and Aurelius Petearbeschinis," in A.E. Hanson (ed.), *Collectanea Papy-*

*rologica: Texts Published in Honor of H.C. Youtie II* (Bonn 1976) 489-500.

51. "Notes on the Acts of Peter and Paul," *Enchoria* 6 (1976) 121.
52. "Notes on Two Coptic Papyri," *ZPE* 22 (1976) 89-91.
53. "Ad Menandri Sententias," *ZPE* 23 (1976) 45-7.
54. "Notes on Coptic Texts," *CdÉ* 50 (1976) 231-2.

#### 1977

55. "Harpocraton Panegyrista," *ICS* 2 (1977) 184-96.
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5. J.A. Houlihan, *Artemidorus Arabus: Toward a New Edition of the Onirocritica*. Defended: 18 December 1996.
6. Z. Giannopoulou, *The Protean Essence of Logos: Problematisation of Language and Indefinability of Knowledge as Perception in Plato's Theaetetus*. Defended: 3 May 2002.

## PUBLIC LECTURES

1. "Ad P.Oxy.XXXIV 2705," 13<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrologists, 2-6 August 1971, Marburg/Lahn, Federal Republic of Germany.
2. "The Text and Transmission of the Sortes Astrampsychi," 10 November 1973, Johns Hopkins University; 24 March 1975, Lund University.
3. "A Panegyrist from Panopolis," 14<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrologists, 28 August 1974, Oxford, England.
4. "Harpocraton Panegyrista," 13 February 1976, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
5. "The Sahidic Version of Kingdoms IV," 1<sup>st</sup> International Congress of Coptology, 13 December 1976, Cairo, Egypt.
6. "A Coptic Almanac," 15<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrologists, 30 August 1977, Brussels, Belgium
7. "A Coptic Kalandalogion," 109<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the American Philological Association, 29 December 1977, Atlanta, Georgia.
8. "Coptico-Graeca: The Destructive Pleasures of the Sirens," 30 March 1979, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
9. "Griffith's Old Nubian Lectionary," 16<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Papyrologists, 26 July 1980, New York, NY; 1<sup>st</sup> Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium, 9 September 1980, Leiden, Netherlands; 2<sup>nd</sup> International Congress of Coptic Studies, 23 September 1980, Rome, Italy.
10. "New Light on Old Nubian: the Serra-East Codex," 5<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the Society for Nubian Studies, 22 September 1982, Heidelberg, Federal Republic of Germany.

11. "A Surprise from Sunnarti," 11 July 1983, National Museum, Warsaw, Poland.
12. "A Survey of the Old Nubian Verbal System," 2<sup>nd</sup> Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium, 16 July 1983, Coleraine, Northern Ireland.
13. "The Pursuit of Papyrological Fleas," 22 March 1984, University of Warsaw, Poland.
14. "An Old Nubian Version of the Liber Institutionis Michaelis," 3rd International Congress of Coptic Studies, 23 August 1984, Warsaw, Poland.
15. "Zum Stand der Erforschung des Altnubischen," 28 September 1984, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, German Democratic Republic.
16. "Old Nubian Philology," Recent Developments in the Archaeology of Christianity in the Nile Valley, Symposium at the University of Cambridge, 7 December 1984.
17. "Greek into Nubian," 6<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the Society for Nubian Studies, 13 August 1986, Uppsala, Sweden.
18. "Zur Herkunft der Nag Hammadi-Codices: Die Relevanz der Kartonnage," 17 January 1987, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, German Democratic Republic.
19. "Old Nubian Literature," 7<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the Society for Nubian Studies, 27 August 1990, Geneva, Switzerland.
20. "The Arabic Translation of Artemidorus' Dream Book," 31 March 1992, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
21. "Gupta Numismatica," 13 April 1993, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
22. "Marginalia Jernstedtiana," Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies, 28 August 2000, Leyden, Netherlands.
23. "Valedictory Address," 20 May 2003, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
24. "Palaeonubiano-sanscritico-graeca," Late Antiquity in Illinois: A Symposium at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 27 March 2004.

25. "Howard Jacobson as Philologist," 10 May 2004, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

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## Homerica Varia Michiganensia\*

(Plates 1-6)

### ABSTRACT

This article consists of three sections. The first contains three new and one partly unpublished *Iliad* fragments. The second notes some new readings or features of *Iliad* papyri from the University of Michigan collection and an *Odyssey* papyrus from the Cornell collection that were recovered after restorations for the APIS project. The third section consists of republications of texts edited in N.E. Priest's dissertation (*Iliad* papyri from the Cornell collection and *Odyssey* papyri from Michigan) as well as new readings or details different from those given in her *editio princeps*. This section contains only summaries of Priest's discussion of the individual papyri. For details readers should consult the *ed.pr.* The article concludes with two Appendices: App. I contains the full text of a previously described papyrus (*Iliad*) and App. II is a concordance of all the published Homeric papyri from Michigan and Cornell. The Afterthought discusses some basic statistics on the use of accentuation, breathings, and punctuation in Homeric papyri, which derive from the Michigan and central APIS database. Images of all papyri are available on the APIS website.<sup>1</sup>

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\* Documents or literary texts found on the other side of the papyri discussed in this article will appear in a future publication.

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviations used in this article are: Priest 1975 = N.E. Priest, *Homeric Papyri in the Michigan Collection* (U. Mich. Diss. 1975); Priest 1982 = "Michigan Homeric Papyri I: Iliad A-P," *ZPE* 46 (1982) 51-94; Schwendner 1988 = G.W. Schwendner, *Literary and Non-Literary Papyri from the University of Michigan Collection* (U. Mich. Diss. 1988).

## SECTION 1: New Homeric Fragments<sup>2</sup>

### I. Homer, *Iliad* 8.457-78, 491-507

P.Mich. inv. 5694d

7.00 cm x 12.5 cm

III A.D.

Plates 1-2

29-B197A-A, Karanis<sup>3</sup>

This papyrus is damaged on all sides, but approximately one third to half of each verse is preserved. The fragment is part of a codex that can be dated to the first part of the third century A.D. on palaeographical considerations. The letters ε, θ, ο, c are narrow, while μ is broad. θ is especially narrow and its horizontal bar extends only to the right. c is not lunate, but resembles that of a cursive hand. In some cases δ and χ have a hook on top of their left bar (see vv. 493 and 495 respectively). The horizontal stroke of δ is extended on both ends, especially on the right (e.g. v. 460). Some letters that have a descender touch on the following line (e.g. the ι in πυγμαῖι of l. 501). κ is written in two parts. The only diacritic used in the surviving text is *diaeresis* over ι. The scribe does not write *iota adscriptum*; see v. 471 ε]θεληcθ]α, v. 475 πρyμνηc[ι and v. 476 αἰνο]πατω.

The handwriting can be classified as "formal mixed" in the category of "sloping oval style"; see Turner - Parsons, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 22. It can be compared with Schubart, *PGB*, 34b (a documentary

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<sup>2</sup> The order followed throughout this article is that of the transmitted Homeric text, according to work, book and verse (see the summary table at the end). The text of the *Iliad* was collated with the 1998 edition of M. West, which lists the other witnesses to the same passage that survive on papyrus. For a complete, updated list, see D. Sutton's site *Homer and the Papyri* at [http://www.chs.harvard.edu/homer\\_papyri/](http://www.chs.harvard.edu/homer_papyri/).

<sup>3</sup> The excavation locus indicates that the papyrus was excavated by the University of Michigan in 1929, in level B of occupation, structure 197, area A within this structure and was listed as item A found there. All Karanis excavation labels that appear in this article should be read similarly. We discuss the archaeological context only in cases where it can provide information pertinent to the corresponding text.

text written in 216 A.D.) and 19c (III A.D.); R. Seider II, no. 50 (III A.D.); and *P.Oxy.* XVIII 2181, reproduced in W.A. Johnson, *Book-rolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus* (Toronto 2004) pl. 13 (III A.D.).

Twelve verses are missing between the two sides. The column would have measured approximately 22 cm in height without the margins. Overall, the leaf would have been of average height (see the discussion on no. IV below).

This text is papyrus 698a in West's 1998 edition of the *Iliad*, selected manuscript readings from which are included in the commentary below (*MP*<sup>3</sup> 0814.013 = *LDAB* 7337). The text is the vulgate throughout and records a mistake shared with a MSS in v. 501 (see note).

**Recto**

457 ε]πεμύξαν Αθη[ναι  
 459 ] ακεων ην ουδε τι  
 460 ] Διι πατρι χολος δε μι[ν  
 c]τηθος χολον αλλα [  
 Κρον]ιδη ποιον τον μυθ[ον  
 ι]δμεν ο τοι cθ[ενος  
 Δα]ναων ολοφυρομε[θ  
 465 κ]ακον οϊτον αναπληc[αντες  
 469 απαμε]ιβομενος προσεφη νεφ[εληγερετα  
 470 ] μαλλον υπερμενεα Κρ[ονιωνα  
 ε]θειληςθα βοωπιc ποτν[ια  
 Αργει]ων πουλυν cτρατον [  
 πρ]ιν πολεμου αποπαυc[εται  
 παρ]α ναυφι ποδωκεα Πη[λειωνα  
 475 α]ν οι μεν επι πρυμνηc[ι  
 αινο]τατω περι Πατροκλο[ιο  
 ] δ εγ[ω  
 νει]ατα π[ειραθ



## Verso

491 νε]κυων διεφαινετο  
       ] επι χθονα μυ[θον  
       διωφ]ιλος εν δ α[ρα  
       ] παροιθε δε λαμ[πετο  
 495 περι] δε χρυσεος θεε [  
       επ]εα πτεροεντα προση[υδα  
       Τρωε]ς και Δαρδανοι ηδ ε[πικουροι  
       νη]ας τ ολεσας και παντας Α[χαιους  
       ] προτι Ἴλιον ηνεμοεσσα[ν  
 500 κνεφα]ς ηλθε το νυν εσαωσ[ε μαλιςτα  
       ] επι ριγμηνι θαλασση[ς  
       π]ειθωμεθα νυκτι μ[ελαινη  
       εφοπλ]ισομεσθα αταρ καλλιτ[ριχας ιππους  
       οχεω]ν παρα δε σφισι βαλλ[ετ εδωδην  
 505 αξεσθ]ε β[οας] και [ιφια μ]η[λα]  
       οινο]ν δε μ[ελιφρονα οινι]ζεσθε  
       ] επ[ι

458 deest in 298 490 b G: hab. B<sup>m</sup> C<sup>m</sup> Ω\*.

463 ι]δμεν pap., ιδμεν t Ω: ιςμ[εν 490.

466-8 desunt in 490 Ω: add. B<sup>2</sup> T<sup>2</sup> W<sup>2</sup> H V; see G.S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary. Vol. II, Books 5-8* (Cambridge 1990) 333.

βοωπις ποτν[ια pap., βοωπι Ω (fort. praestat —ωπι, cf. Wack. KS 1171 (ann. 1914); Chantr. I 208): -ις R G, item Arph ad O 49, prob. Wack. KS 1535 (ann. 1878), Schulze 425. —cf. ad Λ 36, O 49, Σ 357.

472 πουλυν pap., 490 (ηυλ[ι] A: πολυν Ω\*: πολεα t (si huc spectat).

475-6 ath. Ar.; see Kirk, *op.cit.* 334.

491 (= K 199) susp. Kirk.

493-6 ath. Zen; def. Ar.

496 επ]εα πτεροεντα προση[υδα pap., επ]εα Τρωεσσι μετηυδα A (cf. B 109, I 16): πτεροεντα προσηυδα Ω\* (μετηυδα W<sup>a</sup>): πτεροεντ' αγορευε A<sup>70</sup> F (cf. X 377).

499 προτι παρ., προτι Ω: ποτι Ο.

501 ] ἐπὶ ριγμῇ θάλασση[ς παρ., ρηγμῇ Ar (ριγνῇ) Ω; ἐπεὶ Δίος ἐτραπέτο φρην (= K 45) Zen; see Kirk, *op.cit.* 336.

## II. Homer, *Iliad* 13.289-301

P.Mich. inv. 1210 + 1216a 5 cm x 12.5 cm

III A.D.

Plate 3

Provenance unknown

P.Mich. inv. 1210: *ed.pr.* Priest 1975, pp. 109-11, no 26; Priest 1982, p. 87 (initially 4.1 x 11.7 cm). P.Mich. inv. 1216a (initially a small fragment 3.6 x 2.3 cm) was recently identified and then joined with P.Mich. inv. 1210 at the right upper corner.

This is a medium-brown papyrus from the right bottom part of a column, written along the fibers on the recto of a roll; the verso is blank. The papyrus is broken off on all sides. The preserved bottom margin is 5.8 cm. There is evidence of a *kollesis* 1.5 cm from the left edge; the width of the *kollema* is 0.5 cm.

The hand is regular, pointed capital, of medium size and of sloping type. It is bilinear and the preserved portion shows no ligatures. The shape of ω is remarkable, because the left part is rectangular and the right is slightly curved. Also, the entire base of the letter, made of two almost horizontal strokes, sits flat on the line. α is angular. ε, ο, c are almost of the same breadth. The hand could be assigned to the third century A.D.; cf. Seider II, nos. 32, 33; for similar omegas see *ibid.*, no 46.

The scribe wrote a dot at the end of vv. 290 and 295, which may constitute incorrect scribal punctuation. The dots are written with the same ink as the text and they could be also considered as a stray point of the pen. There is a *diaeresis* mark in v. 295. There is a dot above the second ε of μέτεισι in v. 298; it may or may not be a cancellation mark by the first or a later scribe. In v. 291 a grave accent is placed on the unaccented penultimate syllable of οἰαρίστῳ to indicate that a high pitch follows next; see Turner-Parsons, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, 15, 16, 20, 21, 27; J. Moore-Blunt, "Problems of Accentuation in Greek Papyri," *QUCC* 29 (1978) 141. In vv. 292 and 298 two



recto. The papyrus is broken off on all sides. The top margin, which has suffered damage on the left and right edges (at its widest it measures 1.3 cm), contains tiny traces of stray ink. The back is blank.

The hand is an informal, rounded, and medium-sized one (see Turner - Parsons, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 21); the letter height averages 0.5 cm. It is roughly bilinear; only  $\varphi$  projects a little below and above the line and  $\rho$  below the line. There are no ligatures and the letters are formed separately. The hand is characterized by the uneven size and the differences in inclination not only of different, but also of the same letters; for inconsistencies in size, see e.g.  $\alpha$  and  $o$ , and for inclination  $\pi$  and  $\varepsilon$ . Also, the spacing between the letters is not always the same. Sometimes the mid-stroke of  $\varepsilon$  curves upwards and its upper horizontal is formed with a separate additional stroke.  $\mu$  is made deep.  $\omega$ 's left and right strokes are almost vertical and slightly curved and its central hasta is almost non-existent.  $\pi$  is made in two separate movements of the pen, of which the first forms the left-hand vertical and the second produces the horizontal and the other vertical stroke in a single flowing line.  $\alpha$ 's circle is sometimes elongated.  $\vartheta$ 's horizontal bar slightly extends to both sides.

Two accute accents are visible in the first two lines (vv. 507-8) of the column, as the surviving portion of the text shows. Both are drawn as long oblique strokes. There are two corrections in this text: in v. 507, on the left above the  $\varepsilon$  in  $\varepsilon\mu[\varepsilon\rho\omicron\nu]$  (an itacistic mistake for  $\iota\mu[\varepsilon\rho\omicron\nu]$ ) there is a dot; in v. 510 the first preserved letter of the line,  $\iota$ , is stricken through with an oblique slant and two dots are written, one above and one below it. In the second instance, probably the scribe had initially considered the dual  $\mu\nu\eta\varsigma\alpha\mu\epsilon\nu\omega$  as a dative and written an iota adscript. The ink of both the accents and the corrections looks a little darker than the text, so we can assume that these elements were inserted later either by the same or by a different hand; for the way the corrections were noted see Turner - Parsons, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 16.

The fragment preserves forms of only sixteen characters of the alphabet, and these provide no reliable basis for dating the hand. Judging mainly from the way the letters  $\varepsilon$  and  $\pi$  are drawn (see above) the hand could be dated in the first or (more likely) second

centuries A.D. Similar features of these letters can be traced in Turner - Parsons, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, no 17 (II A.D.); cf. ε in v. 25 and π throughout; cf. also Schubart, *PGB* 20 (I/II A.D.).

There are several reasons to make us think that this papyrus may be a school exercise: the width of the letters is irregular (see note to v. 513); the accents are pronounced; there is an error of dative singular for dual nominative (v. 509); the text begins at the top of a piece of papyrus; and contains a very famous scene (Achilles and Priam weep together).

The small amount of text that survives presents no variant readings.

	margin
507	] πατρος υφ είμ[ερον χειρ]ος απώσατ[ο μνησαμενω][ι] ο μεν Εκτ[ορος 510 προπαρο]ιθε ποδων [ κλαιε]γ εον πα[τερ στο]να[χη τεταρ]π[ετο

#### IV. Homer, *Iliad* 24.681-5, 723-8

P.Mich. inv. 4162b

4.9 cm x 6.1 cm

V/VI A.D.

Plates 5-6

Provenance unknown

The text is written in black ink on both sides of a medium brown, coarse and thick papyrus, which originally was probably a codex leaf (less likely a single papyrus piece). That this is a papyrus codex is supported also by the fact the text on both sides comes from book 24 of the *Iliad* (for further discussion see below). The papyrus is damaged on all edges except for the bottom where there is margin on both sides of c. 2.5 cm.

On the basis of the surviving text on each side, we can calculate the height of the columns and can estimate the size of the original

page. The column on the verso contained almost certainly 43 verses, since the last line on the recto is v. 685 and the last line on the verso is v. 728. Of these lines only the last 6 are preserved. They measure c. 3.5 cm in height. Since the surviving lower margin is c. 2.5 cm, we can project that the column was c. 25 cm and the papyrus leaf about 30 cm high. Although we cannot calculate the width of the page, the height alone seems to conform to the size of other known codices, see E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia 1977) 14-22 (on the grounds of height alone the codex cannot be attributed to a particular group listed in Turner).

The handwriting consists of large, upright letters, which exhibit some differences on each side.  $\alpha$  survives only once on the recto, where its left side is formed with a clear round circle. On the back, however, where it survives seven times, the left side is always formed with a small closed loop. The ligatures of  $\lambda$  and  $\epsilon$  in  $\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota$  on the front and in vv. 723 and 725 on the back are not quite similar.  $\omega$ , which appears only once on the front, there exhibits a connecting stroke with the following letter ( $\nu$ ), while on the back in a total of three similar instances there is no such feature. However, since all the other letters and ligatures present more or less the same formation on both sides, we are reluctant to suggest the existence of two different hands. The same—or perhaps a second—hand may have added the accents and punctuation (found on both sides of the papyrus and used correctly), because they appear to be written with a similar ink and pen. There are also apostrophes and a *diaeresis*.

The hand can be compared with G. Cavallo – H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300 – 800*, London 1987, 21b (V/VI A.D.); Seider II, no. 62, a literary text (V A.D.); and Seider I, nos. 50 and 51, two documents (middle of V A.D.).

A few unintelligible marks appear at the end of some lines on the front (see photo): v. 682, a slightly oblique stroke that begins just below *nu*; v. 683, a suprascript mark followed by a dot, but we cannot read *kappa*, which would point to the first letter of the following word  $\kappa\omicron\kappa\omicron\nu$  of the received text. The mark looks rather like an anchor.<sup>4</sup> What is preserved in v. 681 appears to be a curved

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<sup>4</sup> The anchor "was used almost exclusively to mark a place where the text had been omitted and (or) to draw attention to the necessary restoration in the

stroke and does not resemble that in v. 682; thus, it could be the base of an epsilon (perhaps read  $\epsilon\lambda\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ?). Furthermore, there is a round mark in v. 685 joining a long oblique stroke, but once again it does not look like an  $\epsilon$  (of the  $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\omicron$  that should follow). Similar marks occur in other texts, including school exercises,<sup>5</sup> but it is difficult to explain their usage in our papyrus.

The text preserved is *Iliad* 24.681-5 (recto) and 723-8 (verso). As the recto clearly indicates, only a part of each verse (about 3/5) was written down; the rest was omitted, sometimes after the first or second letter of a word (see vv. 681 and 684). This unusual feature may have occurred also on the verso, but due to the fragmentary condition of the papyrus it cannot be confirmed. Under these circumstances it is hard to determine the character of this text and to give a reasonable explanation for the omission of the end part of the verses.

It is attractive to imagine that this leaf contained incipits of verses and was a student exercise. Texts consisting of half-lines of Homer have survived on two ostraca and one papyrus (see R. Cribiore, *Writing*, nos. 193, 201 and 291; but the first two contain only scattered verses). However, neither the hand nor the length of the surviving text would support such an assumption in this case, since student exercises (at least at the elementary level) tended to be shorter (on ostraca) and were written in much more cursive and crude hands. Furthermore, *Iliad* 24 is among the least represented books in the papyrological evidence and may have not been part of the teaching canon in elementary education. If it is an exercise, it may be the product of a more advanced student who perhaps read *Iliad* to its end; see *eandem*, *Gymnastics of the Mind. Greek Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton 2001) 140 and 194-5, and *eand.*, "A Homeric Writing Exercise and Reading Homer in School," *Tyche* 9 (1994) 1-8.<sup>6</sup>

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top or bottom margin." See K. McNamee, *Sigla and Select Marginalia in Greek Literary Papyri*. Pap.Brux. 26 (Brussels 1992) 11-13, at 11.

<sup>5</sup> See R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Am.Stud.Pap. 36 (Atlanta 1996) 87-8.

<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, vv. 681-3 and perhaps 684 all stop after the first beat of the fourth foot. Could the marks be checkmarks by a teacher?

However, the condition of the text may be the result of a scribal action. We can think of two possible scenarios. In the first, the scribe, having reached almost the end of Book 24 and of the codex (one more leaf would have been sufficient to contain the remaining verses), decided to cheat because this could not be noticed easily at the end of the manuscript. In the second scenario, the scribe relied on a codex (not a roll) in which the right half of the last page was not preserved in good condition and copied as much as he could see or imagine seeing (we owe this suggestion to our colleague I. Vassis). Commonly, codices are damaged either in the beginning or in the end at the fore edge as a result of handling over time, see E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, PA 1977) 42 n. 7.

The small amount of text which survives presents the reading ι]πποδάμοιο in verse 724, while part of the tradition reads ανδροφονοιο. The former reading is also found in papyri 13, 14, and 262 of West's edition. For the preference of ανδροφονοιο by the editors, see M.L. West, *Studies in the Text and Transmission of the Iliad* (München 2001) 281 at v. 724.

### Recto

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681	[νηων εκπεμψειε λ]αθων ι
682	[στη δ αρ υπερ κεφα]λῆς καί μιν
683	[ω γερον ου νυ τι κοι] γε μέλει
684	[ανδρασιν εν δηιο]ισιν επ̣
685	[και νυν μεν φιλο]ν υιόν

margin

### Verso

-----

723	τησιν δ Αν]δρομαχη λευκ[ωλενος ηρχε γοοιο Εκτορος ι]πποδάμοιο κάρη μ[ετα χερσιν εχουσα
725	ανερ απ αι]ῶνος νέος ὠλε[ο, καδ δε με χηρην λειπεις εν] μεγάροις· πάϊς δ' ε[τι νηπιος αυτω





Inv. 19 is broken off on the left side. Inv. 20a joins with inv. 19 at the bottom right side. Inv. 20b is damaged on all edges and preserves only a small portion of text. The *ed.pr.* attributed inv. 20b incorrectly to verses 10.483-7. Paul Heilporn joined successfully inv. 20b to inv. 19. This resulted in the recovery of a few letters of verses 196-200, as follows:

196	] κα[ι] Νεστορος ἀγλαος υἱος καλ]εον συνμητια[α]ς θαι εκδια]βαντες ορυκτην εδριωντο δ]η νεκρων διεφαινετο χωρος
200	οθε]ν αυτις απετραπेत οβριμος Εκτωρ

Note: on the verso there is a text written in very small letters (not mentioned in the *ed.pr.*).

**\*P.Mich. inv. 919** (Priest 1975, pp. 99-105, no 24; Priest 1982, pp. 81-5) = *Iliad* 11.516-37, 550-66, 573-98.

The papyrus was originally inventoried as P.Mich. inv. 919 (a), (b), (c). The verso of the papyrus was reused for writing another document. *P.Ryl.* III 543 is part of the same roll and O. Bouquiaux-Simon has determined the position of all preserved fragments in both Michigan and Manchester collections in the roll (see *ZPE* 74 [1988] 297-300). The three pieces of the Michigan collection were mounted in glass in two separate plates, A and B. However, fr. (a) had moved from its position and was then (literally) glued on top of (b) in plate A. After restoration the pieces were again set apart. It is now clear that fr. (b) joins to the left of (a) only in v. 555, where the letter φ is divided between the two fragments. Verse 521, which now reads T[ρ]ωας, provides the only new reading. Plate B housed portion (c) of the edition, but some smaller fragments had again moved between the glass and were glued on both the front and the back of (c). Neither edition mentions this. After restoration, one word (προς]ςω) was retrieved, corresponding to the end of v. 572 in col. 3; in v. 574, iota of ααι was unusually elongated, reaching the bottom of the following line. The restoration also produced the fol-

lowing new readings: v. 577 φαεινω[ι]; v. 586 γεγονώς (l. γεγωνός); v. 593 εστη[α]ν.

From the small pieces unglued from fr. (c), one (now named "d") could be identified as part of the middle top portion of column 2, verses 533-7. The text reads:

θοο]ν α[ρ]μα [  
                   ] τε και α[σπιδα  
 πεπαλ]ακτο κα[ι  
                   οπ]λεων ρ[αθαμιγγε  
                   δ]ε ιετ[ο

**\*P.Mich. inv. 6654** (Priest 1975, pp. 118-21, no 29; Priest 1982, pp. 91-3) = *Iliad* 15.596-609, 631-48.

The restoration uncovered some letters from the beginning of verses 597-8 of the recto and two new lines at the bottom of the verso. As a result, the fragment preserves *Iliad* 15.596-609 and 631-48. The verses of the *ed.pr.* that have been affected read: 597: Πρια-μίδηι [ινα; 598: εμβαλοι ακα[ματον; 645: [στροφθ]ει[ς γ]άρ μετ'; 646: [την αυτ]ο[ς φ]ορέε[ς]κ[ε; 647: τη ο γ ενι βλαφ]θ[ε] [ις; 648: σμερδαλεον] κ[οναβησε

Note: in v. 641 read πατρός (not πάτρος). The papyrus at its present state measures 13.9 cm x 11.7 cm

## THE ODYSSEY PAPYRI OF THE CORNELL COLLECTION

**\*P.Corn. inv. MSS. A 101.I** (= *P.Oxy.* III 448) = *Odyssey* 22.117-21, 131-38, 230-317; 23.185-94, 230-42, 269-73.

The papyrus was donated in 1909 to the Cornell University Library in return for contributions to the Egypt Exploration Fund. In 1972 it was transferred (along with the rest of the Cornell papyri) to the University of Michigan Graduate Library. It had been already published as *P.Oxy.* III 448, and the online Location List of Oxyrhynchus papyri reports that this papyrus is part of the Cornell collection (<http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/POxy/frame1.htm>). However, this information is not accurate since the entry for princeton .apis.p37 of the central APIS database provides an image of several fragments

of this papyrus. In reality the papyrus was split between the two collections. Hence, Princeton received only eight fragments which preserve the following text: bottom of col. i, 16 lines in fragment (a); bottom of col. ii, 14 lines in fragment (b); bottom of col. iii, 28 lines in fragments (b), (c), (d), (e); col. iv, 12 lines in fragments (f) [10 lines from the top of the column], (g) [2 lines from the bottom of a column]; top of col. v, 8 lines in fragment (h) [not twelve as stated in the *ed.pr.*]. The Cornell portion consists of twelve main fragments: fr. 1: 2.6 x 2.6 cm; fr. 2: 4.1 x 2.1 cm; fr. 3: 29.6 x 23.3 cm; fr. 4: 8 x 4.3 cm; fr. 5: 8.9 x 5.6 cm; fr. 6: 4.3 x 3.6 cm; fr. 7: 2 x 1 cm. There are five more, smaller fragments, which have traces of ink or are blank. The text printed below does not appear in the *ed.pr.* and is based on a new arrangement of the fragments.

Fr. 1 and 2 of P.Corn. MSS A 101.I were found in an envelope, separately from the other fragments, and were identified during the APIS cataloging. They were not included in the *ed.pr.*, but they both fit on the right side of the third column of the Princeton portion of the papyrus. The newly-recovered text is printed below in **bold**:

*Odyssey* 22, verses 117-21

- 117 [τ]όφρα μνηστ[ηρων ενα γ αιει ω ενι οι]κωι  
[βα]λλε τιτυς[κομενος τοι δ αγχις] **ἔτινοι έπειπ[τ]ον**  
[α]υταρ επει λ[ε][πον ιοι οιστευοντα αν]ακτα  
120 [το]ξον μεν π[ρος σταθμον ευσταθεο]ς **μεγαρ[οιο**  
[ε]κλειν' έστα[μεναι προς ενωπια πα]μ[φ]α[νοωντα]

*Odyssey* 22, verses 131-8

- 131 τοις δ' Αγελεως μ[ετειπε]ν ε[πο]ς [πα]ντεςσι π[ι]φαισκων  
ω φιλοι ουκ αν δη [τις α]ν [ορσο] **θυρ[ην α]ναβα[ιη**  
[κα] έιποι λαοισι βοη δ' ω[κι]ς **τα γ[ε]νοιτο**  
[τ]ω κε ταχ' ουτος ανηρ νυ[ν υ] **στα[τα τοξάσσαιτο**  
135 [τον] δ αυτε προσειπε Μελα **νθ[ιος αιπολος αφιγών**  
[ου πω]ς εκτ' Αγελαε διδ[ο]τρεφες **α[γχι γαρ αινωσ**  
[αυλης] καλα θυρετρα και **αργαλε[ον στομα λαυρης**  
[και χ ει]ς παντας ερύκοι α[[μ]] **ν' ήρ ος [τ αλκιμος ειη**

The underlined text in lines 131-2 was transcribed in the *ed.pr.*, but the fragments that record this text cannot be identified now either in the Cornell or in the Princeton portions of the papyrus.

Cols. vi and vii are preserved on fr. 3, which was formed during the recent conservation by joining four previously separate fragments. The left bottom half of col. vi and the right part of col. vii are lost and generally the fragment overall has many holes. The upper part of col. xvii is preserved on fr. 4 and the upper part of col. xviii on fr. 5.

There was one more fragment, namely fr. 6, in the same envelope with fragments 1 and 2. This was not transcribed in the *ed.pr.*, even though it bears the modern mark 448 in red ink, written either by the dealer or by Grenfell and Hunt. The same number appears also at the bottom of fr. 3. Fr. 6 preserves the bottom left corner of col. xviii, as follows:

*Odyssey* 23, verses 269-73

-----  
 269 εἰς [ο κέ τοις ἀφικῶμαι οἱ οὐκ ἰσάσι θάλασσαν  
 270 ἀνέ[ρτες οὐδὲ θ' ἀλέεσσι μεμιγμένον εἶδαρ' ἐδούσιν  
 οὐδ' ἀ[ρὰ τοι ἰσάσι νεας φοινικοπαρήους  
 οὐδ' ἐ[υήρε εἰρετμα, τὰ τε πτερά νηυσὶ πέλονται  
 σήμα [δε μοι τὸδ' εἶπεν ἀριφραδὲς οὐδὲ σὲ κεύσω  
 margin

Finally, fragments 7-12 preserve some traces of letters or are blank. Fr. 7 reads four lines as follows:

— —  
 ]..[  
 ]. ς. [  
 ]λο[  
 ]. δο[  
 — —

They could come from *Odyssey* 22.145-148 or 22.290-293.

## SECTION 3: N.E. Priest's dissertation

## ILIAD PAPYRI FROM THE CORNELL COLLECTION

\***P.Corn. inv. MSS. A 101.VI** (= *P.Oxy.* III 541; Priest 1975, pp. 54-5, no 8).

**Date:** III A.D.

**Content:** *Iliad* 2.859-73

**Notes:** The text has several accented and contains some breathing marks and apostrophes; in v. 866 the accent is misplaced (read Μήιονας). Iotacism in v. 868 Μέιλητον. There are no variant readings.

Text:

-----

859	αλλ ο[υκ
860	αλλ' εδαμ[η ε]ν ποταμ[ωι Φορκ]υ[ς τη]λ εξ Αc[κانهc Μη]οc:ιν α[υ 865 υ]ιε Ταλαιμεν[εoc οι και Μηόνας ἦγ[ον Νάκτηc αυ Καρῶ[ν ο]ι Μέιλητον έχον Φ[θιρων Μαιάνδρου τε ροα[ς 870 τ]ῶν μεν αρ Αμφιμ[αχοc Νάκτηc Αμφιμαχο[ς ο]ς και χρυcὸν έχων πολ[εμον νηπιoc ουδ]έ τι οί τό γ [

-----

*Ed.pr.:* 861 εν]; 868 Μέι[λ]ητον έχον; 869 Μαιάνδρου[υ]

**\*P.Corn. inv. MSS. A 101.VII** (= *P.Oxy.* III 543; Priest 1975, pp. 62-4, no 11).

**Date:** II/III A.D.

**Content:** *Iliad* 3.361-78

**Notes:** Two scribal errors (verses 364 and 374) have been corrected in the course of writing. The text presents no variants, but note the readings in vv. 362 and 368.

Text:

	-----
361	αργυροηλ]ον αμφ]ι δ αρ [αυ]τωι χ]ειρος ευ]ρδν 365 αλλ]ος κακοτ]ητος ]εγχοc ]μιν ιπποδασειη]ς 370 Αχ]αιουσ υ]πο δειρην τρυφαλ]ειης ]κυδος Αφροδι]τ[ω]{ι}, 375 ] παχ]ειηι Αχ]αιο[υc ερηρες] ε[ταιροι -----

362 αμφ]ι δ αρ [αυ]τωι: 78 Z Ω: αὐτῇ Ar (et test T αἱ χαριέστεραι καὶ πλείονες) A<sup>s</sup>.

368 ]μιν: Ar(?) 3 t Ω: ἐδάμασσα Ammon Did<sup>uv</sup> Z (cf. E 191, Π 813).

**\*P.Corn. inv. MSS. A 101.VIII** (= *P.Oxy.* III 544; Priest 1975, pp. 64-6, no 12).

**Date:** III A.D.

**Content:** *Iliad* 4.182-198

**Notes:** Two hands are present in the text. The first hand wrote the text and the second hand wrote the accents (verses 187, 191) and probably one line (v. 186). The second accent over ω in v. 191 is incorrect and was probably written first. These accent marks are almost horizontal and may therefore be macra. Note v. 195. Verses 196-7 are omitted, as in several papyri.

Text:

	-----
182	ευρεια] χθω[ν ] Μενελαος Αχα]ιων
185	παρ]οιθεν υ]πενερθεν καμ]ον άνδρες κρειω]ν Αγαμεμ[νων ]
190	επιθη]κει οδ]υνάων προσηυ]δα δευ]ρο καλεσσογ ιητηρο]c
195	αρχον Αχα]ιων
198	ακο]υσα[c]
	-----

182 *Ed.pr.*: ευρει]α [χθων

195 αρχον Αχα]ιων: rec. Ατρεος υιον.



**\*P.Corn. inv. MSS. A 101.IX** (= *P.Oxy.* III 545; Priest 1975, pp. 66-8, no 13).

**Date:** II/III A.D.

**Content:** *Iliad* 4.478-90

**Notes:** The text is written vertically with respect to the fibers. The other side contains a document. There are occasional breathings and elision marks, as well as two stops. Scribal error in v. 485: τ instead of θ; two scribal errors in verses 483 and 485 have been corrected. In the left margin, opposite verses 486-487, the note κατ(ω) has been inserted to indicate the omission of a verse in the preceding column that was later added in the lower margin. Both verses 450 and 461 are omitted in parts of the tradition. Note the reading θρεπτα in v. 478, read incorrectly in the *ed.pr.*

Text:

	-----
478	θρεπτα φ[ιλοις επλεθ' υ[π
480	πρωτον [ δεξιον α[ντικρυ ηλθεν· ο δ [  η ρα τ' ε[[μ]] ει[αμενηι λειη· ατ[αρ
485	την με ... [ εξετα[μ η μ[εν το[ιον Αι[αc
490	Π[ριαμιδης -----

478 θρεπτα: θρεπτρα (*ed.pr.*); θρέπτα: Zen 4 973 Hsch<sup>cod</sup> Phot. F<sup>a</sup> W<sup>a</sup>, item Q.S. 11.89 codd.-cf. ad P302, θρέπτρα Ar 24 [Plut.] Cyr. Ω\*: θρεπρά Z.

479 There is a small vertical stroke in the upper left part of Θ in επλεθ.

482 Above and on the right side of omicron there is a long stroke.

485 We were not able to confirm the reading 485 με<sup>ν</sup> τ α[ρματοπηγος of the *ed.pr.* There is a letter written above epsilon, probably a nu, followed by two letters written in line. The vulgate reads θ αρματοπηγος, but θ or τ is difficult to read for the first letter.

**\*P.Corn. inv. MSS. A 101.X** (= *P.Oxy.* III 546; Priest 1975, pp. 78-81, no 18).

**Date:** II A.D.

**Content:** *Iliad* 7.237-244, 264-273

**Notes:** The text is written on the back of a document. Scribal errors or iotacisms in v. 237 ανδρο]κτοσιας (read ανδροκατασιας); v. 269 επιδεινη[cas; v. 272 ενχριμ[φθεις; corrected errors in verses 239 and 268.

Text:

col. i

margin

237

ανδρο]κτοσιας τε.

νω]μηςαι βων

]πολεμι[<sup>ζειν</sup>την]

240

ω]κειων·

]Αρηι·

ε]οντα

]αι κε τυχωμι.

δολιχοκ]ιον εγχος

-----

col. ii

margin

264

α]λ[λ

265

κειμε[νον

τω βαλεν [

μεσσον επομ[φαλιον

δευτερο[<sup>ς</sup>] αυτ [

ηκ επιδεινη[cas

270 εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποβλέψας  
βλάψεν οἱ φίλοι  
αὐτοῦ ἐν χρίμτι  
καὶ νῦν κεδημένοι

273 *Ed.pr.:* ξε[ιφεεεε

**\*P.Corn. inv. MSS. A 101.XI** (= *P.Oxy.* III 547; Priest 1975, pp. 81-3, no 19).

**Date:** II/II A.D.

**Content:** *Iliad* 7.324-36, 355, 357-63

**Notes:** The text as preserved and corrected in ancient times reproduces the vulgate throughout. Corrected errors in verses 330 and 359. Ioticism in v. 333, κατακειομεν Accentuation in v. 327: the accent ought to be on the final syllable. Punctuation marks.

Text

col. i

324 υφαι]ν[ει]ν ηρχετο μῆτιν  
325 φ]αίνετο βουλή·  
] μετ[εε]ιπεν·  
Π]αναχαιών·  
κομω]ντες Αχαιοι  
ευρρ]ρον αμφι Cκαμανδρον  
330 ] ψυχαι δ [Αιδος] ]<sup>δε</sup> κατηλθον·  
πολ]εμον μεν αμ ηοι παυσαι Αχαιων·  
αγρομε]νοι κυκλ[ης]ομεν ενθαδε νεκρους  
ημιον]οισιν αταρ κατακειομεν αυτους  
πρ]ο νεων ως κ' οςτεα παισιν ἕκαστος  
335 ] αὔτε νεώμεθα πατριδα γαιαν·  
] πυρην ξνα χεύ[ο]μεν εξαγαγοντες  
margin

col. ii

355 δ[ι<sup>ο</sup>c  
[  
Αντη[ν]ορ [  
οἷς<sup>θ</sup>α και αλ[λον  
ει [X] ετεον δη [  
360 εξ αρα δή τοι επειτα θεο[ι  
αυταρ εγώ Τρώεσσ[ι]  
αντικρὺ δ' αποφημι γυ[ναικα  
κτηματα δ' ὅcc' αγομην [  
margin

325 *Ed.pr.*: φ]αινετο βουλη;

355 was not read and transcribed in the *ed.pr.*

**\*P.Corn. inv. MSS. A 101.XII** (= *P.Oxy.* III 548; Priest 1975, pp. 86-93, no 21).

**Date:** III A.D.

**Content:** *Iliad* 9.235-301

**Notes:** This papyrus is a leaf from a codex. It contains numerous accents (incorrect accents in v. 246 φθῖςθαι, v. 251 Δανάοιιν, v. 255 αῖ, v. 263 ο]ccά, v. 273 ἦν, v. 282 ἑῶcin), stops and diacritical marks (macron in verses 272, 274); (wrong marks in v. 249 μετ'όπιςθ, v. 283 οὔθαρ', v. 299 μετ' αλ[λη]'ξαντι). The text is the vulgate throughout. There are scribal errors or iotacisms in verses 235 μελαινηχι[ν, 236 cφιν, 245 ημειν, 246 εν, 247 μενονάc, 253 Φθειηc, 263 [κλ]icίηcin, 265 εείκοcιν, 270 έργ ειδυῖας, 276 ἦε, 284 τίκει, 286 {μ}, 298 τε[λ]έουcι. Corrections (by the same or a later scribe) are found in verses 254, 255, 259, 270, 272, 277, 278 (αλαπάξα: ξ corrected from c), v. 288 (ανάεδνον: δ corrected from λ), v. 291 (πτολίεθρα: ε corrected from α), v. 293 (βαθύλειμον: α corrected from η). *Scriptio plena* in v. 260.

Text:

Recto

margin

Θ

- 235      $\sigma\chi\eta\sigma\epsilon\varsigma\theta'$  ἀλλ ἐν νηυσὶ μελαινησὶν  
           Ζεὺς δὲ σφιν Κρονίδης ἐνδεξία σ[ηματα  
           ἀστράπτει· Ἐκτὼρ δὲ μέγα σθένει  
           μαίνεται ἐκπάγλως πίκυνος Δι[ι  
           ἀνέρας οὐδὲ θεοὺς· κρατερὴ δὲ [  
 240     ἀρᾶται δὲ τάχιςτα φανήμεναι Ἡ[ω  
           σ]τευται [γ]αρ νηῶν ἀποκόψειν ἀκ[ρα  
           αὐτάς τ' ἐμπρήσειν μαλερο[υ  
           δηιώσειν παρὰ τῆσιν ὀριν[ομένους  
           ταῦτ' αἰνῶς δεῖδοικα κατὰ φ[ρενα  
 245     ἐκτελέσωσι θεοὶ ἡμεῖν δὲ δη [  
           φθίτθαι ἐν Τροίῃ ἕκας Ἀργεὺς π[οβοτοιο  
           ἀλλ' ἀνάει μεμονάσγε καὶ ὅψε [  
           τειρομένους ἐρύεσθαι ὑπὸ Τρω[ων  
           αὐτῶι τοι μετ' ὅπιδ' ἄχος ἐσ[κεται  
 250     ρεχ]θ[ε] [ντο]ς κακοῦ ἐστ' ἄκος εὐρεῖ[ν  
           φραζεῖν ὅπως Δανάοισιν ἀλεξή[σεις  
           ὦ πεπὸν· ἡ μὲν σοὶ γε πατήρ [  
           ἡματι τῶι ὅτε σ' ἐκ Φθείρης Ἀγα[μέμνονι  
           τέκνον ἐμὸν κ[α]τὰ[α]τος μὲν Ἀθ[ηναίη  
 255     δωσούσ' αἰ κ[α]τὰ[α] θέλωσι σοὶ δὲ με[γαλητορα  
           ίς]χιν ἐν στήθεσσι φιλοφροσ[υνῇ  
           ληγέμεναι δ' ἐρίδος κακομη[χανου  
           τιῶς Ἀργείων ἡμεῖν νέοι ἡδ[ε  
           ὥς ἐπέτελλ' [ῥ] γέρων· σοὶ δὲ λη[θεῖναι  
 260     παύε {ο} ἕα δὲ χόλον θυμολγέα· σ[οι  
           ἀξία δῶρα δ[ι]δῶσι· μεταλήξαι[ντι

ε]ι δε συ με[ν] μευ άκουσον ε[γω  
 ο]σσά τοι εν [κλ]ιςίησιν ύπέσχετο [  
 ε]πτ αἵρους τρίποδας δέκα δε [  
 265 αι]θωνας δε λεβητας· εείκοσιν [  
 πηγο]υς α[θ]λοφορους [οι] αέθλια [  
 ου] κεν αληιος είη· ανηρ ωι τ[  
 ουδε] κεν α[κ]τήμων εριτείμ[οιο  
 margin

## Verso

margin  
 I  
 οσσ Αγαμεμνο]νος ίπποι αέθλια ποσσιν άροντο·  
 270 δωσει δ επτα γ]υναϊκας αμύμον<sup>α</sup> έργ ειδυϊας·  
 Λεσβιδας ας οτ]ε Λέσβον ευκτιμένην έλες αυτο[c  
 εξελεθ αι τοτε] κάλλει εν[ε]ϊκων φῦλα γυναι[κων  
 τας μεν τοι δ]ώσει μετα δ' έσσεται ήν τοτ' απ[η]υρα  
 κουρη Βριση]ς· και επι μέγαν ορκον ομεϊται  
 275 μη ποτε της ευ]νης επιβήμεναι ήδε μιγῆγαι  
 η θεμικ εκτιν] άναξ ή τ' ανδρῶν ήε γυναικων·  
 ταυτα μεν αυτι]κα [τα] πάντα παρέσσεται· ει δέ κεν  
 [αυτε  
 αctu μεγα Πρια]μοιο θεοι δώως' αλαπάξαι  
 νηα αλις χρυσου] και χαλκοῦ νηήσαςθαι  
 280 ειςελθων οτ]ε κεν δατεώμεθα ληϊδ' Αχαιοι·  
 Τρωιαδας δέ γυ]ναϊκας εείκοσιν αυτος ελέσθαι.  
 αι κε μετ Αργειη]ν Έλένην κάλλισται έῶσιν  
 ει δε κεν Αργος ι]κοίμεθ' Αχαιῖκον οὔθαρ' αρούρης·  
 γαμβρος κεν οι] εοικε τίσει δε σε ἴσον Ορέστη·  
 285 ος οι τηλυγετο]ς τρέφεται θαλίηι ενι πολλῇ·  
 τρεις δε οι εις]ι θύγατρεις ενι {μ} μεγάρω<sup>l</sup> ευπήκτω[ι

- Χρυσοθεμις κ]αι Λαοδίκη και Ιφιάναςα  
 τρων ην κ εθ]έληιςθα φίλην ανάεδνον άγεσθαι  
 προς οικον Πη]λῆος ο δ αυτ' επι μείλια δώσει
- 290 πολλα μαλ οσσ ου]πω τις έῆ<sup>l</sup> επέδωκε θυγατρι·  
 επτα δε οι δ]ωσει εῷ ναιόμενα ποτλίεθρα  
 Καρδαμυλην] Ενόπην τε και Ιρην ποιήεσσαν  
 Φηρας τε ζαθ]έας ηδ 'Ανθειαν βαθύλειμον  
 καλην τ Αιπει]αν και Πήδασον αμπελόεσσαν
- 295 πασαι δ εγγυς αλ]ος νέεται Πυλο[υ] ημαθόεντο[ς  
 εν δ ανδρες ν]αίουςι πολύρρην[εσ] πολυβοῦτα[ι  
 οι κε σε δωτι] 'νηιςι θεδν ως τ[ι]μήσουσι  
 και τοι υπο σκ]ήπτρω[ι] λιπαρας τε[λ]έουσιν θ[ε]μ[ι]στας  
 ταυτα κε τοι τ]ελέσειε μετ' αλ[λη] 'ξαντι χ[ολοιο  
 300 ει δε τοι Ατρει]δης μεν απήχθ[ε]το κηρόθ[ι] μαλλον  
 αυτος και του δ]ωρα συ δ άλλους περ Πανα[χαιους  
 margin

254 *Ed.pr.*: κῤ[α]τος

**\*P.Corn. inv. MSS. A 101.XIII** (= *P.Oxy.* III 549; Priest 1975, pp. 96-8, no 23).

**Date:** II/III A.D.

**Content:** *Iliad* 11.39-52

**Notes:** The text follows the vulgate throughout. It differs twice from the text of Aristarchus in v. 40 αμ]φιςτεφεες and v. 51 μ]ετ. A corrected error occurs in v. 41. Scribal error in v. 45 εκδουπησαν; iotacism inv. 51 ταφρω. Some diacritical and punctuation marks appear. Also, a breathing in v. 40.

Text:

- 
- 40 κυανεος] ελελικοτο δρακω[ν] κῥ[φαλα]ι δε [οι ησαν  
 τρεις αμ]φιςτεφεες ένος [αυ]χενος εκ[πεφυυια

κρατ<sup>φ</sup>]ι δ επ αμφιάλον κυνηην θετο τε[τραφαληρον  
 ιπο]υριν· δεινον δε λοφος καθυπερθεν ε[νευεν  
 ειλε]το δ' αλκιμα δουρε δυω κεκορυθμ[ενα χαλκωι  
 οξεα τη]λ<sup>ε</sup> δε χαλκος απ' αυτοφιν ου[ρανον ειω  
 45 λαμ]π επι δ' εκδουπησαν Αθηнайη τ[ε και Ηρη  
 τιμω]και βασιληα πολυχρυσοιο Μυκηνη[ε  
 Ηνιο]χωι μεν επειτα εωι επετελλ[εν εκαστος  
 ιππους ευ] κατα κοσμον ερυκεμεν α[υθ επι ταφρωι  
 αυτοι] δε πρυλεις συν τευχεςι θωρηχ[θεντες  
 50 ρωνοντ α]εβεστος δε βοη γενετ ηωθι προ  
 φθαν δε μ]ετ ιππων επι ταφρω κοσμ[ηθεντες  
 ιππηες δ ο]λιγον μετεκιαθον εν δε κ[υδοιμον  
 margin

39 *Ed.pr.*: κυανεος] ε[λ]ελικτο δρακω[ν κεφαλα]ι δε οι ησαν.

40 αμ]φιςτεφεις; *ed.pr.* τρεις αμφι]ςτεφεις: (nov. Did) 350 494a2 Hsch.<sup>cod</sup> tt\*  
 Ω\*: άμφιστρεφέες Ar<sup>ab</sup> et commentarii ApS Hsch.<sup>ordo</sup> A Y R W; έπιστεφέες A<sup>m</sup>.

42 *Ed.pr.*: ιπου]ριν.

46 *Ed.pr.*: Μυκην[ης.

51 μ]ετ ιππων; μεθ' 494a2 ApS<sup>cod</sup> (contra explic.) Ω\*: μεγ' Ar A D W<sup>c</sup> G<sup>c</sup>;  
 ιππους ApS.-de aurigis agitur.

## ODYSSEY PAPYRI FROM THE MICHIGAN COLLECTION

**\*P.Mich. inv. 2764** (Priest 1975, pp. 165-76, no 32).

**Date:** II-III A.D.

**Content:** *Odyssey* 1.220-236, 263-275

**Notes:** The text is the vulgate throughout. It presents no variant readings. Incorrect accentuation occurs in v. 236 (θανο]ντί: on the last syllable instead of the omicron, because of the following enclitic?) and v. 272 (circumflex instead of acute in αῦριο[ν]). Two minor errors have been corrected above the line (vv. 231, 233). Unnecessary movable -ν is written in v. 227 δοκεουσιν. There is punctuation at the end of several verses. Columns are numbered 6 and 7





270      ἡ [κεν  
           ὁῖc[ι]γ εἴνι  
           οππω[ε  
           εἰ δ ἀγε ν[υν  
           αὔριο[ν] εἴc  
           μυθον [  
           μνηc[τηραc  
 275      μητε[ρα  
           margin

*Ed.pr.*: 221 γλαυ[κωπις Αθην[η; 226 ταδε; 233 [ει]εν; 234 κακα] μητιωοντες;  
265 του[ος]; 272 ει[c. 224, 225, 229, 230, 231, 233, 234: no punctuation

**\*P.Mich. inv. 3390** (= *P.Sel.Warga* 1) = *Odyssey* 4.355-89.

On the back there is a document written against the fibers in a cursive hand.

**\*P.Mich. inv. 3692** (Priest 1975, pp. 168-72, no 33).

**Date:** II A.D. (?)

**Content:** *Odyssey* 7.1-16, 28-40, 42, 82-98

**Notes:** The text is the vulgate. A stichometric mark in the margin at v. 92: the alpha is intended to indicate approximately line 100 of the roll. Scribal mistakes in v. 2 φερων, v. 10 πασαι instead of πασιν (probably influenced by the previous verse ἀμφιελισσαι). There are corrections above the line in v. 31 and v. 83. Punctuation, *diaeresis* (vv. 7, 15), apostrophe (v. 5).

Text:

Col. 1

1

ηρα]το πολυ[τλας  
α]ctu φερων [  
α]γακλυτα δω[μαθ

5 προθυρ]οις· κασιγνητοὶ δ[ε  
 εναλ]ιγκιοι οἱ ρ' υπ[  
 εςθη]τα τε εσφερον ε[ις]ω  
 θαλαμ]ον εον η̣ι̣ε· δαιε δε οἱ πυρ  
 θαλ]αμηπολος Ευρ[υ]μεδουσα·  
 ] νεεσ ηγαγον αμφιελισσαι·  
 10 αυτη]ν γερας εξελον ουνεκα πασαι  
 ] θεου δ ως δημος ακουεν·  
 λευκωλενο]ν εν μεγαροιςιν  
 εκ]οσμει·  
 ] αμφι δ Αθηνη  
 15 Οδ]υσσῃ  
 αντιβολη]σας  
 -----  
 -----  
 28 κελ]ευσ[ις  
 ν]αιει·  
 30 ηγε]μονευσω·  
 ] μηδ ε[ε]ρεινε  
 ανθρωπ]ους ανεχονται  
 φιλε]ους ος κ αλλοθεν ελθῃ·  
 πεποι]θotes ωκειησι  
 35 εκπερωσι]ν επει σφισι δωκ ενοσιχθων  
 ] ηε νοημα·  
 Παλλα]ς Αθηνη·  
 ι]χνια βαινε θεοιο·  
 ναυσικλυτ]οι ουκ ενοησαν  
 40 ] ου γαρ Αθηνη  
 margin

col. 2

margin

41

]  
θ]υμω·

-----

col. 3

margin

82

Αλκίνοου πρὸς δωματ ἱε

ωρμαίν ἰστα[με]νῶ πρὶν [  
ὡς τε γὰρ ἡε[λίου] αἰγλ[η]

85

δῶμα [κ]αὶ ὑπερεφ[ε]

χαλκεοὶ μὲν γὰρ τ[οιχο]

εἰς μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδ[ο]υ π[ε]ρι

χρυσεῖαι δὲ θυραὶ πυ[κινον]

ἀργυρεοὶ δὲ σταθμ[ο]

90

ἀργυρεο[ν δ ε]φ ὑπερθ[υριον]

χρυσεῖοι δ [εκατ]ερθε [κ]α[ι]

Δ

οὐς Ἡφαίσ[τος] τεύξεν [  
δῶμα φυ[λασσεμ]ε[ν]α[ι]

ἀθανάτου[ς]

95

ἐν δὲ θρόν[ο]

εἰς μυχὸν [  
λεπτ[οὶ εὐν]υ[ητο]

ἐνθ[α]

-----

35 *Ed.pr.*: ἐκπερωσιν ἐ]πει.

41-2 *Ed.pr.*: ραο[ι α]χ[λυν]. The latter reading would correspond to the first verse of col. 2, but this verse does not survive on the papyrus. It would measure 32 letters and it would be shorter than v. 42, which contains 36. The papyrus preserves traces only of the last three letters of v. 42.

92 *Ed.pr.*: οὐς Ἡφαίσ[τος] τεύξεν [.98 *Ed.pr.*: ἐν]θ[α]

**\*P.Mich. inv. 5636** (Priest 1975, pp. 172-5, no 34).

**Date:** I A.D.

**Content:** *Odyssey* 9.384-391

**Notes:** Word substitution in v. 385 ἀνευθεν (ἐνερθεν vulgate); *diple periestigmene* attached to v. 388 in reference to περιρρεε; form substitution in v. 389 οφρυς (οφρυας vulgate).

Text:

margin

- 384 διν]εον ως στε τις τρυπωι δορυ νηιον αν[ηρ  
 385 τρ]υπανωι οι δε τ ανευθεν υποcc[ε]ιουσιν ι[μαντι  
 αψα]μενοι εκατερθε το δε τρεχ[ε]ι εμμενες α[ιει  
 ως [του] εν οφθαλμωι πυριηκ[εα μ]οχλον [ελοντες  
 >: δινεομεν τον δ αιμα περιρρεε θερμον ε[οντα  
 παντα δε] οι βλεφαρ αμφι και οφρυς ευcεν αυτ[μη  
 390 γληνης καιομενης c]φαραγευντο δε οι πυρι [ριζαι  
 ως δ οτ ανηρ χαλκευς π]ελεκυν μεγαν ηε cκεπ[αρνον

-----

*Ed.pr.:* 385 τρυ]πανωι; 387 ως του εν ο]φθαλμωι; 389 παντα δε]ε οι

**\*P.Mich. inv. 3786** (Priest 1975, pp. 175-80, no 35).

**Date:** II-III A.D.

**Content:** *Odyssey* 10.527-556

**Notes:** The text is the vulgate (cf. v. 546 δῶ[μα κιω]ν); omission of v. 532 (see Priest's note, p. 178); alternative spelling of the name Persephone in v. 534; macron in v. 545; accentuation shows confusion between the readings Ἀΐδηι and Ἄϊδι in v. 534; apostrophe in v. 531 (?); iotacisms in v. 533 κατ]ακεῖται, v. 534 ιφθειμω[ι], v. 539 ει[π]ηcιν; use of the regular imperfect in place of the epic form in v. 546, ω[τ]ρυνον.

Text:

- 
- 527 ενθ οι αρνειον ρεζειν θη]λυν τ[ε μελαιναν  
ει[ς Ερεβος στρεψας αυτος ] δ απονος[φι τραπεσθαι  
ιेम[ενος ποταμοιο ροαω]ν ενθα δε [πολλαι
- 530 ψυχαι [ελευσο]γται νεκυων κατατεθ[νηωτων
- 531 δη τότ [επειθ]’ εταροισιν εποτρυναι και [ανωξαι
- 533 δείραντ[ας κατ]ακειῖαι· επευξασθαι δε θεο[ισιν  
ιφθειμω[ι] τ’ Αἰδηι και επαινῆι Φερσεφο[νεια  
535 αυτος δε ξ[ι]φος οξυ ερυσσαμενος παρα [μηρου  
ῆ]ςθαι μηδε εαν νεκυων αμενηνα [καρηνα  
αιματ]ος ἄσσον ιμεν’ πριν Τειρεσιαο[ ]πυθεσθαι  
εγθ[α τ]οι αυ[τ]ικα μαντις ελευσεται ο[ρχα]με λαων  
ος κεν [τ]οι ει[π]ησιν οδον και μετρα κ[ε]λεϋ[θου  
540 νόστον θ’ ως επι ποντον ελευσεαι ιχθυο[εντα  
ως εφ[α]τ’ α[ν]τικα δε χρυσοθρονος ηλυθεν Η[ως  
αμφ[ι δ]ε με χλαιναι τε χιτωνα τε ειματα ες[εν  
αυ[τ]η δ [α]ργύφεον φᾶρος [μ]εγα ἔννυτο νυμ[φ]η  
λεπ[ι]ο]γ κα[ι] χαριεν· περ[ι δ]ε ζωνην βαλετ’ ιξ[υι  
545 κᾶ]λην χρυσειην· κ[εφαλ]ῆι δ επεθηκε κα[λυπτ]ρην  
α[ντα]ρ εγω δια δῶ[μα κ]ω]ν ω[τ]ρυνον ετα[ι]ρους  
μειλιχι[οις επε]εσσι [παρ]α]σταδον ανδρα εκ[α]στον  
μηκετ[ι νυν ευ]δοντες [α]ωπειτε γλυκυν ὑπ[γ]ον  
αλλ ιομε]ν [δ]η γαρ μοι επεφ[ρα]δε ποτνια Κιρκη  
550 ως εφ[α]μην τ[ροι]ι]ν δ [επε]πειθετο θυμ[ος α]γ[η]νωρ  
ουδε μ[εν ουδ εν]θε[ν π]ερ απήμον[ας η]γον εταιρους  
Ελληνωρ δ]ε τις ἑσκε νεωτατο[ς ουτε τι λι]ν  
αλκιμος εν[ ]πολεμωι ου[τ]ε φρεσιν η[ι]σι]ν α[ρ]ηρω  
ος μοι ανευθ]ι εταρων ιεροῖς εν δω[μ]ασι [Κιρκη

555 ψυχρος μειρ]ων κατελεξατο οиноβαρε[ιων  
 κινυμενων δ εταρων ομαδον και δουπ]ογ [ακουσας  
 -----

*Ed.pr.:* 534 επαινηι; 543 [α]ργυφεον; 548 υπ[νον; 552 εκκε

**\*P.Mich. inv. 1202 + 1203 + 1209** (Priest 1975, pp. 180-85, no 36).

**Date:** Late II A.D.

**Content:** *Odyssey* 11.577-610

**Notes:** The text follows the vulgate; cf. v. 579 δειτρ[ον; v. 582 κρατ]ερ. Verses 590 and 604 are omitted as in U before correction (see Priest's note *ad loc.*, p. 184). In v. 587 the scribe did not write καταζηναςκε and the verse should be read as γα[ι]α μελαιν[α φαν]εσκε <καταζηναςκε> δ[ε δαιμ]ων, a mistake probably influenced by the repetition of verbs ending in -εσκε (thrice in verses 586-7). In v. 586, ποσιν, the movable -ν is unnecessary. Seven smaller fragments with faint traces of ink that cannot be identified are mounted under the same glass.

Text:

margin

577 κειμ[ενον εν] δαπ[εδωι ο δ επ εννεα κειτο π]ελεθρα  
 γυπε [δε μιν εκ]ατ[ερθε παρημενω ηπαρ ε]κειρον  
 δειτρ[ον εσω δυνοντες ο δ ουκ απαμυνετο] χειρι  
 580 Λητω [γαρ ελκηςε Διος κυδρην παρ]ακοι[τιν  
 Πυθω[δ ερχομενην δια καλλιχορ]ου Πανοπη[ος]  
 και] μ[ην Τανταλον] ει[σειδον κρα]τερ αλγ[ε] εχον[τα]  
 ες ταοτ[ εν λιμνηι] η δε [προσεπλαζε] γενειω[ι]  
 στευτο δε δ[ιψαων πιειν δ ουκ ειχε]ν ελεσθ[αι]  
 585 οσκακι γαρ [κυπει ο γ]ερων [πιειν] μενεαι[νω]ν  
 τοσσαχ υδ[ωρ απο]λεσκει α[ναβροχ]εν αμφι δε ποσιν  
 γα[ι]α μελαιν[α φαν]εσκε δ[ε δαιμ]ων  
 δενδρεα θ υψ[ιπετ]ηλα κα[τα κρηθ]εν χεε καρπον

- 589 ογχναι και [ροιαι] και μηλεα[ι αγ]λαοκαρπ[οι]  
 591 των οποτ ει[θυσει] ο γερων επ[ι χειρσι] μασασθαι  
 τας δ ανεμ[ος ριπ]ταςκε ποτ[ι νε]φεα σκιοεν[τα]  
 και μην Ci[κυφο]ν εισε[ι]δον κ[ρα]τερ αλγε εχ[ο]ντα  
 λ]ααν βατα[ζον]τα πελωρ[ι]ον αμ]φοτερη[ιςιν]  
 595 η [τοι] ο μεν σ[κληριπ]τομεν[ος]  
 λ]ααν ανω ω[φ]θεσκε  
 ακρον υπερβα[λσειν]  
 α]υτις επειτα [  
 α]υ[τ]αρ ο γ αψ [  
 600 ε]ρρεεν εκ με[λεων]  
 τ]ον δε μετ ε[ικενόησα]  
 ει]δωλον αυτο[ς]  
 603 τ]ερπεται εν θ[αλιη]ς  
 605 α]μφι δε μιν [  
 π]αντος ατ[υζομενων]  
 γ]υμνον [  
 δ]εινον π[απτεινων]  
 σ]μερδα[λεος]  
 610 χ]ρυσεος η[ν]  
 margin

*Ed.pr.:* 581 καλλιχορο]υ; 582 και μην Τανταλον εισειδον κρα]τερ; 583 ες τα]στ  
 [εν λιμνη η δε προσεπλαζε] γενειω[ι; 585 ο γερ]ων and μενεα[ινω]ν; 587 γαια  
 μελαιν[α φαν]εσκε κ[αταζηναςκε δε δαιμ]ων; 591 οποτ ει[θυσει]; 592 ανεμ[ος  
 ρειπ]ταςκε; 598 αυτις; 599 ο [γ] αψ[ι; 606 πα]ντος

**\*P.Mich. inv. 5760d** (Priest 1975, pp. 185-90, no 37).

**Date:** III A.D.

**Content:** *Odyssey* 14.513-22, 528-33; 15.1-5

**Notes:** Variant reading in v. 514 παιδι (vulgate φωτι). Verses 515-7 are omitted in agreement with parts of the tradition (see Priest's note *ad loc.*, pp. 188-90). *Scriptio plena* in v. 520 κατελεκτ{ο}. There is no *iota adscriptum* in v. 533 in γλαφυρη, ωγη.







**\*P.Mich. inv. 1220** (Priest 1975, pp. 192-4, no 39).

**Date:** II/III A.D.

**Content:** *Odyssey* 22.225-41

**Notes:** The text is the vulgate; cf. v. 233 ἵστατο. Some accents and breathings (vv. 229, 233, 235, 236, 237, 240, 241). *Diaeresis* in v. 233. A dot over μ of κτημ[αθ in l. 231 could be considered as a slip of the pen rather than as a deletion mark, but we cannot confirm this with certainty.

Text:

225

-----  
] .....

μενο]ς εμπεδον ο[υδε  
λευκωλ]ενωι ευπατ[ερειηι  
εμαρ]ναο νω[λ]εμε[ς  
επεφν]εσ εν αινηι δη[ιοτητι

230

Πριαμο]ν πολισ ευ[ρ]ηα[γνυια  
δο]μον και κτημ[αθ  
ολοφυ]ρεαι αλκιμος ε[ιναι  
ε]μ ἵστατο και ιδ[ε

235

ανδρα]σι δυςμενεεσ[σι  
ευεργ]εσιασ αποτίνε[ιν  
ετ]εραλ[κ]έα νικ[ην  
α]λ[κ]ῆς πειρή[τ]ιζ[εν  
] κυδαλιμοιο

240

] μεγαροιο μελαθρο[ν  
ει]κέλη άντην  
Δα]μαστορίδης Α[γελαος  
margin

*Ed.pr.:* v. 225 is not accounted for; 235 απ[ο]τίνειν; 236 ετ] ...[λκ]έα ν[ικην;  
237 πειρητ[ι]ζ[εν

**\*P.Mich. inv. 1589** (Priest 1975, pp. 194-8, no 40).

**Date:** II A.D.

**Content:** *Odyssey*, 23.8-16, 34-48

**Notes:** The text is the vulgate throughout, but it gives one variant previously unreported by the vulgate in v. 12 εουσάν. There is *diaeresis* mark in v. 36, two horizontal parallel strokes above the first iota in v. 16, and a marginal scholium at the left of v. 41 (neither noted in *ed.pr.*).

Text:

col. i

8	<div style="text-align: center;">-----</div> θ] ἐ[ον] οἶκον βιωω]ντο τε παιδᾶ
10	] Πῆγελοπεία ] τῆ δυνανται ] εουσάν ε]πεβησαν αἰε]μη ης[θα
15	θυμ]ον ἐχ[ουσάν ἀνεγ]ειρεῖ[ς

-----

col. ii

margin

34	κ]αἰ μιν φωνήσας ἐπεὰ π[τεροεντα
35	εἰ] δ' ἀγε δὴ μοι μαιὰ φίλη ν[ήμερτες εἰ ἐ]τεον δὴ οἶκον ἵκανετᾶ[ι οπ]πως δὴ μνηστῆρ[σιν μο]λγος ἔων οἱ δ' αἰε[ν τ]ῆν δ' αὐτὲ προσεειπε [
40	ο]ὐκ ἰδὼν σὺ πυθομένην [

..... ε<sup>λ</sup> κτεινομενων· ημε[ις  
 ημεθ ατυζομεν[ι] ς[ανιδεσ  
 πριν γ οτε [  
 Τηλεμα[χος  
 45 ε[υ]ρον επ[ειτ  
 ε[κταο]θ[ι]  
 κε[ιατ  
 νυν δ[ι]  
 -----

The *ed.pr.* refers to fr. a: 4.7 x 8.5 cm and fr. b: 7.4 x 7.2 cm, which can now be joined to form one fragment 10.2 x 15.1 cm. One more piece not mentioned in *ed.pr.*, which preserves letters of four lines, 1.8 x 2.2. cm, and has been joined directly to the main fragment as the beginning of lines 8-11.

In l. 16 above the first iota there are two small parallel horizontal strokes, which look like a =.

In l. 41 in κτεινομενων, the *ed.pr.* reads κτεινομενων and notes *ad loc.* that "the first letter of the word is broken, but there appears to be ink, unrelated to kappa, to its left, in the margin, of which only a very small portion is preserved. It appears to be a mark ~; the significance is unclear". Our autopsy of the papyrus showed that there is one damaged line of marginal notation ending in ελ( ), an abbreviated word. The copyist might have written κτεινομενων, instead of κτεινομενων, influenced by the following θαλαμων; see *LSJ* s.v. κτείνω Π2 "to be or become full".

8 θ εον] οικον; 9 βιωνωτο τ]ε παιδα; 10 Πην]ελοπεια; 11 τε δ]υνανται; 36 ικανε[τ]αι; 39 προσειπ[ε; 46 ε[κτα]οθ[ι]

## APPENDIX I

**\*P.Mich. inv. 2931** (*Descriptum*; *P.Mich.* VI 390, intr.).<sup>7</sup>

**Date:** II A.D.

**Content:** *Iliad* 2.1-42.

**Description:** "This large, almost square papyrus served originally as the beginning of a roll which contained the second book of the *Iliad*. The first letters of the first forty-two verses of the book are preserved along the right edge; they occupy a space which varies from 2 cm at the top of the column to 4 cm at the bottom. Most interesting is the insertion of κ opposite lines 20 and 42, seemingly with stichometric significance. Some 6,5 from the text and 13,5 cm from the left edge, slightly above the center of the free space, is the title arranged in two lines:

-   -   -  
ΙΙΙΑΔΟΣ  
-   -   -  
B  
-

An attempt was made to obliterate both the title and text by rubbing a moist sponge over the papyrus. Quite enough remains, however, to identify the hand as a specimen of the square type of the second century illustrated in Schubart, *P.Graec.Berol.* 31."

**Notes:** The text is generally the vulgate; cf. the readings in v. 2 εὐδον; v. 4 τυμῆς; v. 27 ζευ; in vv. 12 and 29 the reading is Aristarchus' πανευδιη rather than παευδιη. The scribe did not use *iota adscriptum* in v. 22: τωι μιν, and v. 25: ωι λαοι. Hence, such an *iota*

---

<sup>7</sup> For texts found in the same structure at Karanis that were probably owned by the family of G. Iulius Niger; cf. P. van Minnen, "Boorish or Bookish?" *JJP* 28 (1998) 132; for stichometric notations, see Turner - Parsons, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, p. 16, n. 93.

The transcription of this text is based on a photograph. The original is in Cairo.

should not be expected in cases where the reading is doubtful: vv. 4 τιμης η ο[λεια; 12 πανς υδι[η; and 29 πανς υδι η γ[υν.

Text:

- 1 αλλοι με[ν  
ευδογ πα[ννυχοι  
αλλ ο γε με[ρμηριζε  
τιμης η ο[λεια
- 5 ηδε δε οι κ[ατα  
πεμψαι ε[π  
και μιν φ[ωνησας  
βακ ιθ[ι  
ελθων ε[ς
- 10 παντα μ[αλ  
θωρηξαι [  
πανς υδι[η  
Τρωων [  
αθανατοι φ[ραζονται
- 15 Ηρη λιςς[ομενη  
ως φατο βη [  
καρπαλιμ[ως  
βη δ αρ επ [  
ευδοντ ε[ν
- 20 κ στη δ αρ υ[περ  
Νεστορι το[ν  
τω μιν ε[ισαμενος  
ευδεις Ατρε[ος  
ου χρη πανν[υχιον
- 25 ω λαοι τ επι[τετραφεται  
νυν δ εμεθε[ν  
ος σευ ανευ[θεν  
θωρηξαι σε [  
πανς υδι η .[

- 30 Τρωων ου γ[αρ  
αθανατοι φραζονται  
Ηρη λις ουμ[ενη  
εκ Διος αλλα [  
αιρειτω ευτ αν [  
35 ως αρρ φωνη[σας  
τα φρονεον[τ  
φη γαρ ο γ αιρης[ειν  
νηπιος ουδε τ[α  
θησιν γαρ ετ ε[μελλεν  
40 Τρωσι τε και Δα[ναοις  
εγρετο δ εξ υπν[ου  
κ εξετο δ ορθω[θει

## APPENDIX II

A catalogue of all the published Homeric papyri (*Iliad* and *Odyssey*) kept in the Papyrology Rooms at the University of Michigan (*P.Mich.* and *P.Corn.*). The five papyri marked in **bold** are published here.

## Michigan Papyri

Homer	P.Mich. inv.	Provenance	LDAB	MP	West
<i>Il.</i> 1.32-57	13	unknown	1809	0565	374
<i>Il.</i> 1.37-47	1576	unknown	1976	0566.1	519
<i>Il.</i> 1.129-46, 151-90, 192-211	6653	unknown	1791	0580.1	456a
<i>Il.</i> 1.212-67	3430	unknown	2079	0588.1	529
<i>Il.</i> 1.283, 308-75, 397-520, 561-78	2810	24-169AH2-A (Karanis)	1644	0599	379
<i>Il.</i> 1.340-46	4457a	unknown	1649	0601.1	532
<b><i>Il.</i> 2.1-42</b>	<b>2931</b>	<b>24-5006E<sup>2</sup>-A (Karanis)</b>	<b>1978</b>	<b>0625</b>	<b>458</b>
<i>Il.</i> 2.89-110	2755	24-X-west side (Karanis)	1464	0631.1	540



<i>Il.</i> 2.246-59	6055	31-I101L*-P (Soknopaïou Nesos)	2315	0642.2	542
<i>Il.</i> 2.284-302	3694a	unknown	2119	0644.1	689
<i>Il.</i> 2.488-532	6239	32-219*-M(16) + 32-C63N-A(1) (Karaniš)	1419	0657.1	690
<i>Il.</i> 2.738-69, 773- 89	6225	unknown	1982	0669.1	692
<i>Il.</i> 2.745-54	1218a	unknown	1638	0669.2	691
<i>Il.</i> 3.1-25	1318	unknown	1975	0680.1	553
<i>Il.</i> 3.260-70	1213	unknown	1974	0693.2	558
<i>Il.</i> 3.401-11	5576c	unknown	1650	0703.1 1	694
<i>Il.</i> 3.408-19	15 + 15 bis	unknown	1810	0704.1	394 + 693
<i>Il.</i> 5.202-12, 231- 40	6232	unknown	1983	0738.4	575
<i>Il.</i> 5.473-93	44	unknown	1970	0750	359
<i>Il.</i> 6.1-13	4968	unknown	1815	0769.2	580
<i>Il.</i> 6.211-21	14	unknown	1387	0783.2	412
<i>Il.</i> 7.1-13	4768 (A,B,C)	26-B7H-H (Karaniš)	1466	0795.1	580
<i>Il.</i> 7.147-66	5587a	unknown	1980	0804.1	589
<i>Il.</i> 8.229-39, 265- 75	1579	unknown	1977	0827.1	597
<b><i>Il.</i> 8.457-78, 491- 507</b>	<b>5694d</b>	<b>29-B197A-A (Karaniš)</b>			<b>698a</b>
<i>Il.</i> 9.579-99	6052	31-I101L-P(1) (Soknopaïou Nesos)	1467	0850.1	602
<i>Il.</i> 10.192-213	19 + 20 + 20a + 20b	unknown	1463	0857.1 1	426
<i>Il.</i> 10.421-34, 445- 60	6972	unknown	2350	864.1	609
<i>Il.</i> 11.516-37, 550- 66, 573-98	919	unknown	1806	0881	360
<i>Il.</i> 12.114-46	5574	unknown	1979	0892.1	620
<b><i>Il.</i> 13.289-301</b>	<b>1210 + 1216a</b>	<b>unknown</b>	<b>1973</b>	<b>0904.1</b>	<b>623</b>

<i>Il.</i> 14.314-320	4990	27-230A-H (Karanis)	1816	0917.4	629
<i>Il.</i> 15.157-72, 167-81	1575	unknown	2314	0919.2	631
<i>Il.</i> 15.596-609, 631-48	6654	unknown	2080	927.1	635
<i>Il.</i> 16.532-8	3753	unknown	1648	0936.1	642
<i>Il.</i> 17.541-50	12	unknown	1807	0948.1	444
<i>Il.</i> 18.23-617	2 + 2755a + 3160	24-X-west side (Karanis)	1812	0953.1	239 + 649
<i>Il.</i> 18.223-41, 251-75	17 + 18	unknown	1811	0955.1	648
<b><i>Il.</i> 24.506-12</b>	<b>1217b</b>	<b>unknown</b>			
<b><i>Il.</i> 24.683-7, 723-8</b>	<b>4162b</b>	<b>unknown</b>			
<i>Od.</i> 1.220-36, 263-75	2764	24-X-west side (Karanis)	1813	1024.1	
<i>Od.</i> 4.355-89	3390	unknown	1645	1048.1 1	
<i>Od.</i> 4.451-82	16	unknown	1643	1051	
<i>Od.</i> 7.1-16, 28-40, 42, 82-98	3692	unknown	1646	1066.1	
<i>Od.</i> 9.384-91	5636	unknown	1388	1082.1	
<i>Od.</i> 10.527-56	3786	unknown	1814	1092.3	
<i>Od.</i> 11.577-610	1202 + 1203 + 1209	unknown	1637	1102.1	
<i>Od.</i> 14.513-22, 528-33; 15.1-5	5760d	29-House NE of C65 (Karanis)	1981	1113.1	
<i>Od.</i> 21.168-76	37	unknown	1467	1145.2	
<i>Od.</i> 22.225-41	1220	unknown	1808	1148.3	
<i>Od.</i> 23.8-16, 34-48	1589	unknown	1642	1149.4	

**Cornell Papyri**

Homer	<i>P.Corn.</i> inv.	Provenance	<i>LDAB</i>	<i>MP</i>	West
<i>Il.</i> 2.859-73	MSS. A 101. VI	Oxyrhynchos	2000	0678	159
<i>Il.</i> 3.361-78	MSS. A 101. VII	Oxyrhynchos	1828	0700	165
<i>Il.</i> 4.182-98	MSS. A 101. VIII	Oxyrhynchos	2001	0715	24

<i>Il.</i> 4.478-90	MSS. A 101. IX	Oxyrhynchos	1825	0731	62
<i>Il.</i> 7.237-44, 264-73	MSS. A 101. X	Oxyrhynchos	1665	0808	63
<i>Il.</i> 7.324-36, 355, 357-63	MSS. A 101. XI	Oxyrhynchos	1826	0811	194
<i>Il.</i> 9.235-301	MSS. A 101. XII	Oxyrhynchos	1999	0841	64
<i>Il.</i> 11.39-52	MSS. A 101. XIII	Oxyrhynchos	1827	869	65
<i>Od.</i> 22.117-21, 131-38, 230-317; 23.185-94, 230-42, 269-73	MSS. A 101. I	Oxyrhynchos	2002	1148	

### AFTERTHOUGHT

A look at all the published Homeric papyri from North American collections included at present in the main APIS database (63 in total) suggests clearly that the most common feature in these texts is accentuation (38/63 or 60,31%) followed by punctuation (28/63 or 44,44%); much more infrequent is the use of breathings (13/63 or 20,63%). Most of these features appear from the second century A.D. onwards. These figures should be viewed in the light of R. Cribiore's discussion in *Writing ...*, 81-6. The relative rarity of breathings and other lectional signs may be due to the fact that these appear only in advanced exercises of students.

TRAIANOS GAGOS

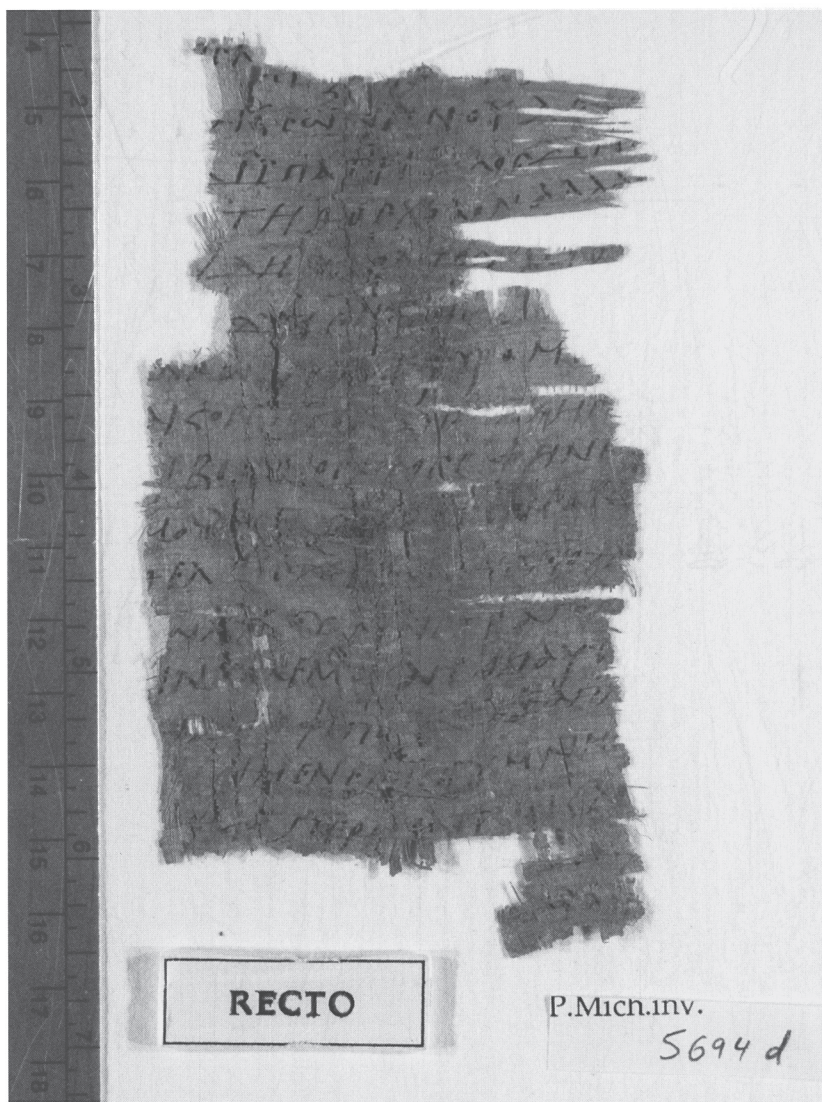
*The University of Michigan*

NIKOS LITINAS

*University of Crete / The University of Michigan*

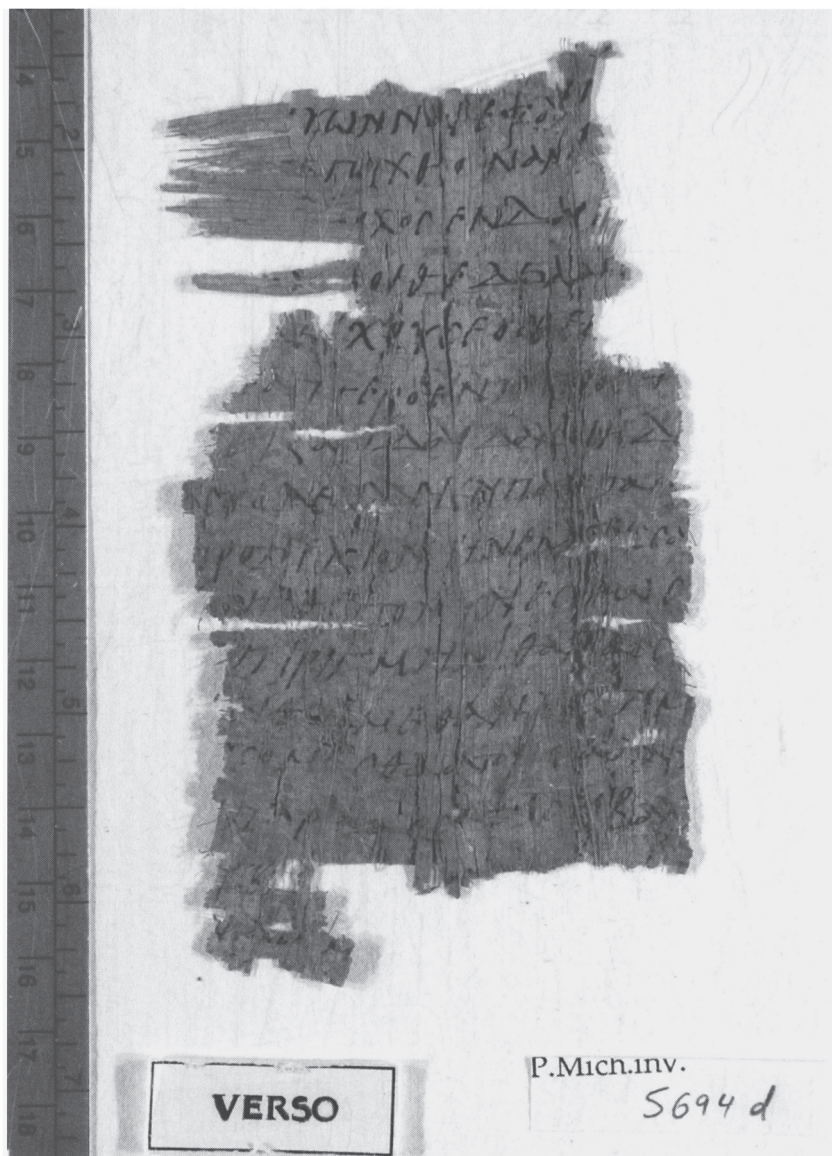
† NANCY E. PRIEST

(to Gagos, Litinas & Priest, "Homerica Varia ...") Plate 1



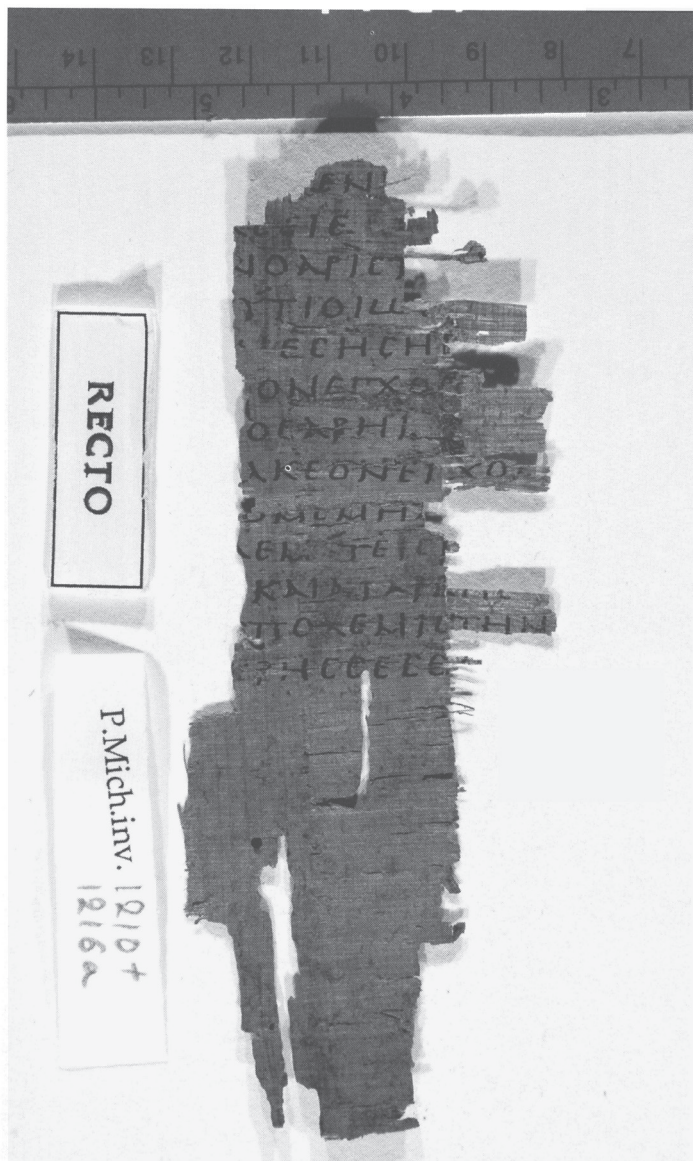
P.Mich. inv. 5694d, recto  
(Photograph digitally reproduced with the permission of the  
Papyrology Collection, The University of Michigan Library.)

**Plate 2     (to Gagos, Litinas & Priest, "Homerica Varia ...")**



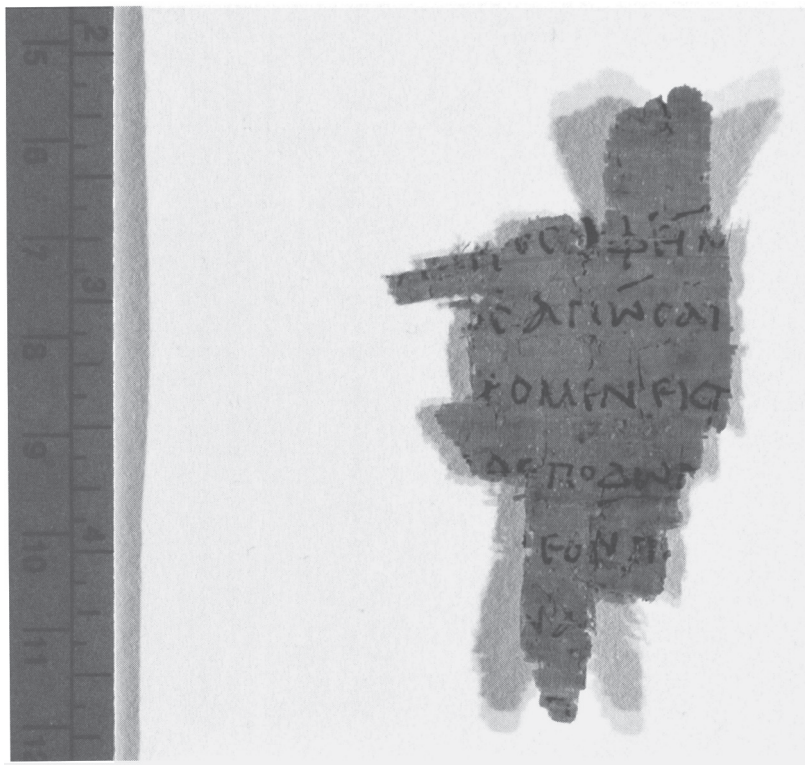
P. Mich. inv. 5694d, verso  
(Photograph digitally reproduced with the permission of the  
Papyrology Collection, The University of Michigan Library.)



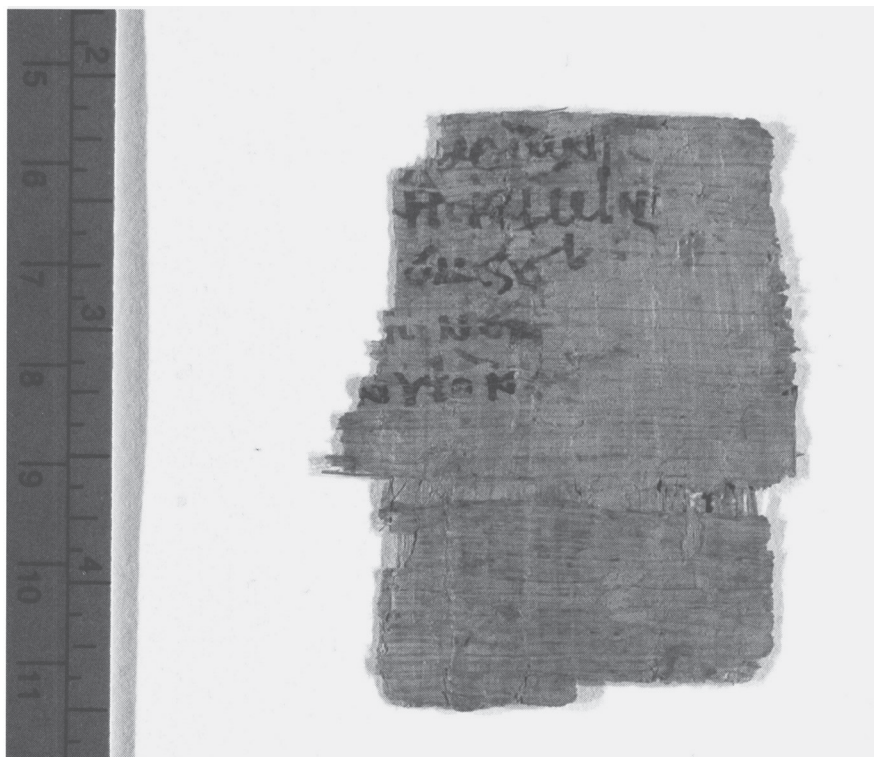


P. Mich. inv. 1210 + 1216a  
(Photograph digitally reproduced with the permission of the  
Papyrology Collection, The University of Michigan Library.)

**Plate 4     (to Gagos, Litinas & Priest, "Homerica Varia ...")**



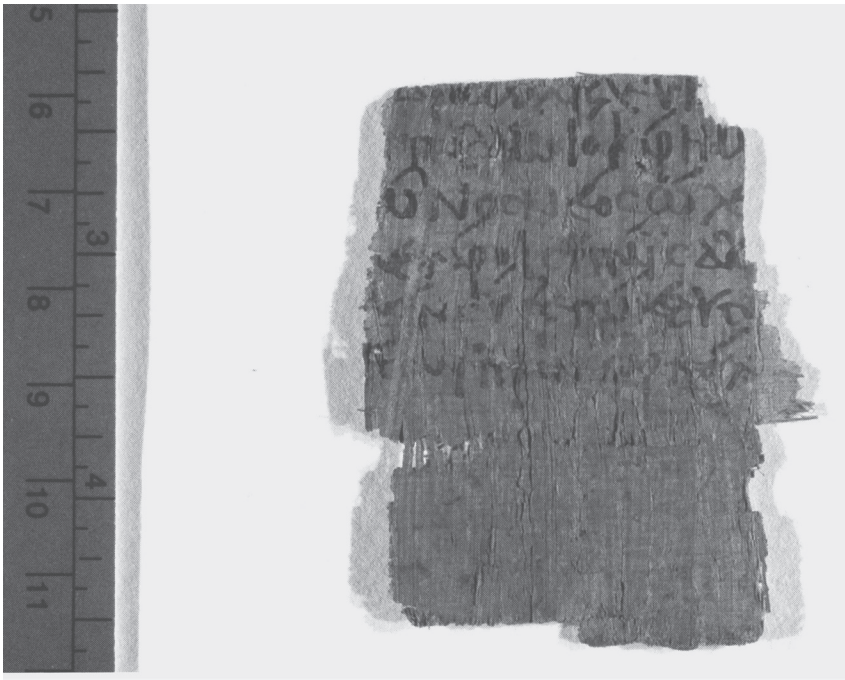
P.Mich. inv. 1217b, verso  
(Photograph digitally reproduced with the permission of the  
Papyrology Collection, The University of Michigan Library.)



P.Mich. inv. 4162b, recto  
(Photograph digitally reproduced with the permission of the  
Papyrology Collection, The University of Michigan Library.)



**Plate 6     (to Gagos, Litinas & Priest, "Homerica Varia ...")**



P.Mich. inv. 4162b, verso  
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## A Lease of House-Property from Byzantine Oxyrhynchus\*

### ABSTRACT

Edition with commentary of P.CtYBR inv. 1656 qua, a lease of a hall (ἑξέδρα) and probably of a vaulted room (καμάρα) in the basement of a house in Oxyrhynchus of 420.

P.CtYBR inv. 1656 qua      14.9 cm x 30.9 cm      10 August 420  
Oxyrhynchus  
<http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/papyrus/oneSET.asp?pid=1656%20qua>

This papyrus preserves a standard Oxyrhynchite lease drawn up in the form of a *hypomnema*. Aurelius Anoutis undertakes the lease of a hall (ἑξέδρα) and also probably a vaulted room (καμάρα) in the basement of a house belonging to Aurelia Maria, situated in the quarter of Pammenes' Garden in Oxyrhynchus (see notes to lines 10-11). The duration of the lease is not specified, but is determinable at the will of the lessor (lines 14-5).

The document is complete with respect to its length, but from about its middle downwards the beginnings of the lines have been lost. However, apart from the exact amount of rent (line 13), the text can be securely restored from parallels, the closest of which are *P.Oxy.* VII 1037 of 444 (*BL* VIII, 240) and XLIV 3203 of 400.

The writing is along the fibers. A docket survives on the other side of the fragment.

The papyrus reached Yale in 1933 or 1935 through a purchase by M. I. Rostovtzeff from M. Nahman in Paris.

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\* My thanks are due to Dr. R.G. Babcock, Curator of the Early Books and Manuscripts Collection at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscripts Library, for his permission to reproduce an image of the papyrus, and to Dr. N. Gonis for helpful advice.

- μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλαουίων Μοναξίου καὶ Πλίντα  
τῶν λαμπροτάτων Μεσορή ιζ.
- 4 Αὐρηλί[α Μ]αρία θυγατρὶ Ἡρακλείδου ἀπὸ τῆς  
λαμπρᾱ[ς] καὶ λαμπ[ρ]οτάτης Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως  
παρὰ Αὐρηλ[ί]ου Ἀνοῦτις Διδύμου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως.  
[ἐ]κουσίως ἐπ[ι]δέχομαι μισθώσασθαι ἀπὸ νεομη-  
γίας Θωθ τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσειόντος ἔτους Ϡξ ξς τῆς
- 8 [τ]ετάρτης ἰνδ[ι]κτίονος ἀπὸ τῆς διαφορούσης σοι οἰκίας  
[οὔς]ης ἐπὶ τῇ[ς α]ὐτῆς πόλ[ε]ως ἐπ' ἀ]μφόδου Παμμένους  
[Παρ]αδ[ί]κου ὁλόκληρον ἐξ]έδραν καὶ ἐ[ν] τῷ κα-  
[ταγ]ε[ί]ω κ[α]μάραν μίαν] σὺν χρηστηρίοις πασι.
- 12 [καὶ τελέσω ὑπὲρ ἐνοικίου] ἐνιαυσίως ἀργυρίου μυριά-  
[δας c. 23 ἄσπ]ερ ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώ-  
[σω κατ' ἔτος δι' ἑξαμῆν]ου τὸ ἥ[μι]ον. καὶ ὁπόταν βουλή-  
[θῃς, παραδῶσω τὴν αὐτὴν] ἐξέδραν μετὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ
- 16 [καταγείω καμάρας ὡς] καὶ παρείληφα. κυρία ἡ μίς-  
[θωσις ἀπλῇ γραφ(εῖς)α] καὶ ἐπερ(ωπηθεῖς) ὡμ]ολ(όγη)σα).
- (m. 2) Αὐρήλιος Ἀνοῦτις Διδύμου  
[ὁ προκείμενος μεμ]ίσθωμαι τὴν ἐξέδραν καὶ ἐν  
[τῷ καταγείω καμάρ]αν μίαν καὶ ἀποδώσω τὸ
- 20 [ἐνοίκιον ὡς πρόκειται]. Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος Μαύρου  
[ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμ]ματα μὴ εἰδότης.
- (m. 3) *di emu* . . . . . [

Back, downwards along the fibers:

- (m. 1?) ] ἀ[π]ηλιωτικά τῆς πόλεως

1 ὑπατίαν Pap.; ὑπατεῖαν 7 εἰσιόντος 10 Παραδείκου 17 ὡμ]ολ/ Pap.

After the consulship of Flavii Monaxius and Plinta, *viri clarissimi*, Mesore 17. To Aurelia Maria, daughter of Heracleides, from the splendid and most splendid city of the Oyrhynchites, from Au-

relius Anoutis, son of Didymus, from the same city. I willingly undertake to hold on lease from the first day of Thoth of the auspiciously coming 97/66 year of the fourth indiction, out of a house belonging to you situated in the same city in the quarter of Pammenes' Garden, an entire hall and [one vaulted room] in the basement with all appurtenances; [and I shall pay as rent] annually [ ] myriads of silver, which I shall compulsorily pay [annually], one half [every six months]; and whenever you wish, [I shall hand back the said] hall along with the [vaulted room in the basement] in the condition in which I have received it. The lease is binding, [written in one copy, and in answer to the formal question] I gave my assent.

(2<sup>nd</sup> hand) I, Aurelius Anoutis, son of Didymus, [the aforementioned], have leased the hall and one [vaulted room in the basement], and I shall pay the [rent as] aforesaid. Aurelius Ammonius, son of Maurus, [wrote on his behalf], because he does not know letters.

(3<sup>rd</sup> hand) Through me [ ]

Back:

(1<sup>st</sup> hand ?) [ ] eastern parts of the city.

1-2 For the consulship see R.S. Bagnall, A. Cameron, S.R. Schwartz, K.A. Worp, *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta 1987) 374-5. For the conversion of the date, see R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Leiden 2004<sup>2</sup>) 141 (= *CSBE*<sup>2</sup>).

3 Αὐρηλί[α Μ]αρία: For women involved in leases of urban property, and the absence of mention of a guardian in the contracts in the Byzantine period, see H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur ΜΙ-ΣΘΩΣΙΣ von Gebäuden im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Köln 1985) 102-9, especially 108-9 for the Byzantine period; J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4e-7e siècles) 2: Les pratiques sociales* (Paris 1992) 238, 425-7, 447-8, and A. Rabinowitz, 'Lease of Part of a House and a Workshop,' *BASP* 38 (2001) 51-62, especially 57-8.

5 Ἀνοῦτις: This name is attested only in papyri of the Byzan-

tine period. The expected genitive form would be Ἀνούτιος, but the undeclined -ις is not infrequent, see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* II 25-6, 78-9.

6-8 The date corresponds to 29 August 420, see Bagnall–Worp, *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 60.

6-7 ἀπὸ νεομηγίας Θώθ: For leases of house-property effective from the first day of the Egyptian year, see Müller, *op.cit.* 180-1.

7 τοῦ εὐτυχῶς εἰσιόντος (read εἰσιόντος) ἔτους: This collocation is not frequently attested in the papyri, and only once more in a Byzantine lease of real property, namely in *P.Genova* I 22.7-8 of 345 (*BL* VII, 275) from Oxyrhynchus.

9-10 ἐπ' ἀ]μφοδου Παμμένους Παρ]αδ[ίκο]ν: Restored as Παραδίκου (read Παραδείκου) on grounds of space. For this well attested Oxyrhynchite quarter, see J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (Frankfurt aM 1990) 85, and S. Daris, "I quartieri di Ossirinco: materiali e note," *ZPE* 132 (2000) 219.

10 ὀλόκληρον ἐξ]έδραν: A subdivided ἐξέδρα could also have been the object of a lease, cf. *P.Flor.* I 13.2, 18 (Hermopolis Magna, sixth/seventh century). On the subdivision of urban property in the early Byzantine period and its transformation into an income-source, see H. Saradi, "Privatisation and Subdivision of Urban Properties in the Early Byzantine Centuries: Social and Cultural Implications," *BASP* 35 (1998) 17-43.

ἐξ]έδραν (cf. lines 15, 18): For the significance of ἐξέδρα, see G. Husson, *OIKIA. Le vocabulaire de la maison privée en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (Paris 1983) 73-7, Saradi, *op.cit.* 31-4, S. Settis, "Esedra e ninfeo nella terminologia architettonica del mondo romano. Dall'età repubblicana alla tarda antichità," *ANRW* 1.4 (1973) 661-82, especially 672-5, and A.K. Orlandos – I.N. Travlos, *Λεξικὸν Ἀρχαίων Ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν Ὁρῶν* (Athens 1986) 103.

10-11 ἐ[ν] τῷ κα[ταγ]ε[ί]φ κ[αμάραν μίαν] (cf. lines 15-6 and 18-9): For the restoration of the lines, cf. *P.Lond.* III 978 (p. 232).8 (καὶ ἐν τῷ καταγαίφ κ[αμ]άραν), 10 (καὶ ἐν τῷ καταγαίφ καμάραν), 12 (καὶ ἐν τ[ῷ] καταγαίφ καμάραν), 13-14 (καὶ ἐν τῷ καταγαίφ ἐπὶ τῇ [ ]ς μικρὰν καμάραν) from Hermopolis of 331; *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3203.16 (τ[ῇ]ν[υ] ἐν τῷ καταγαίφ καμάραν μίαν[υ] of 400; *P.Lond.* III 1023 (p. 267).13-14 (καὶ ἡμισυ μέρ[ο]ς μιᾶς καμάρας ἐν τῷ καταγαίφ) from

Hermopolis of the fifth century); *P.Stras.* VI 580.12-13 (καὶ καμάραν [μίαν ἐν τῷ] καταγαίῳ) from Hermopolis of 553 (see *BL VIII* 424); *SB VI* 9153.23 (καὶ ἐν τῷ καταγαίῳ καμάραν μίαν) from Heracleopolis of 596; *P.Flor.* I 13.4-5 (καὶ ἡμῖν μέρος μι[ι]ᾶς καμάρας ἐν τῷ καταγαίῳ) from Hermopolis of the sixth/seventh century; *P.Erl.* 73 (p. 81).24-5 (καὶ ἐν τῷ καταγαίῳ<sup>1</sup> ± καμάρας δύο), from Heracleopolis of 604. In *P.Cair. Masp.* III 67309.22-3 (Antinoopolis, 569 see *BL VIII* 74) the unparalleled collocation ἐκτο[ς] κ[ατ]αγαίῳ γ[αμα]ράς may be a misreading of ἐν το κ[ατ]αγαίῳ γ[αμα]ράς, l. ἐν τῷ καταγαίῳ καμάρας (for the interchange of ω and ο, see Gignac, *Grammar I*, 275-7).

The upper part of the large ε in this hand is discernible before ω in line 11, and therefore κατάγειον is restored instead of its synonym κατάγαίον, which is much more common in the Oxyrhynchite region.

On κατάγειον/ κατάγαίον see Husson, *op.cit.* 131-3, and Orlandos-Travlos, *op.cit.* 140, and on καμάρα Husson, *op.cit.* 122-8, and Orlandos-Travlos, *op.cit.* 138.

11 κ[αμάραν μίαν], restored on the basis of line 19 (καμάρ)αν μίαν), spacing and the fact that vaulted rooms (καμάραι) are often found in the basements of Egyptian houses, cf. Husson, *op.cit.* 122-8 and 131-2, and Orlandos-Travlos, *op.cit.* 138.

σὺν χρηστηρίοις πᾶσι: See Husson, *op.cit.* 291-3.

12-3 ἀργυρίου μυριά[δας: On "myriads" after the mid fourth century, see R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt*. *BASP Suppl.* 5 (Atlanta 1985) 12, 45.

13 The amount of the rent is lost, but it would possibly lie between the two rent-amounts attested in Oxyrhynchite leases of ἐξέδραι in chronological proximity to ours, namely 1,200 myriads of silver of denarii in *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3203.19-20 of 400 for exactly the same kind of house-property and 2,400 myriads of silver of denarii in *P.Oxy.* VII 1037.14-5 of 444 (*BL VIII*, 240) for a hall with its appurtenances.

14 κατ' ἔτος δι' ἑξαμήν]ου τὸ ἥ[μι]νον: The rent in the Byzantine

<sup>1</sup> Corrected from καταγαίῳ (*ed.pr.*) by T. Hickey, 'Reuniting Anastasia. *P.bibl. univ. Giss. inv.* 56 + *P.Erl.* 87,' *APF* 49 (2003) 205.

leases of house-property was frequently arranged to be paid in two installments a year at six-monthly intervals only in the Oxyrhynchite region. This practice is also attested in Oxyrhynchite leases of the Roman period, where the formulas ἐν δόσει/προθεσμίας δυνί were additionally employed, e.g. in *P.Yale* I 69.15-6 of 214, *P.Köln* III 150.11-2 of 226 or 242, *P.Oxy.* VI 912.20-1 of 235 (*BL* VII, 132; VIII, 239), XIV 1694.22-3 of 280, and XLIV 3200.16-7 of the second/third century. In other regions the rent was normally paid in one annual installment. Unless otherwise indicated, the rent was payable at the conclusion of the payment period, see Müller, *op.cit.* 225, a practice also attested in imperial Rome, see B.W. Frier, "The Rental Market in Early Imperial Rome," *JRS* 67 (1977) 29-30.

14-5 καὶ ὁπότεν βούλη[θῇς: For leases of house-property terminable at the will of the lessor, see Müller, *op.cit.* 187-9, 271, and B. C. MacGing, "Lease of a Linen-weaving Workshop in Panopolis," *ZPE* 82 (1990) 118, line 7n.

17 ἀπλῇ γραφ(εῖςα): For the supplement ἀπλῇ (instead of διςα), see R. Hatzilambrou, "Two Byzantine Leases of House-Property from the Beinecke Library Collection," *JJP* 32 (2002) 40-1.

20 Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος Μαρ[ρ]ου: The same *hypographeus* is attested in *P.Oxy.* XVI 1973.22, also of 420.

22 The notarial signature has not been identified with any of those appearing in contemporary documents from Oxyrhynchus.

23 ] ἀ[π]ηλιωτικὰ τῆς πόλεως: The remains of what appears to be the docket of the lease may suggest a phrase equivalent to ἐν τῷ ἀπηλιώτῃ/ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου τῆς πόλεως or κώμης attested in Byzantine leases of land from the Hermopolite region.<sup>2</sup> One may also consider as parallel a collocation of the well attested type: ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ/ ἐξ ἀπηλιώτου or ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην or ἀπηλιωτικοῖς, then μέρεσι τῆς πόλεως/κώμης. Before ἀ[π]ηλιωτικὰ τῆς πόλεως, perhaps restore ἐπὶ/κατὰ/ πρὸς followed by μέρη] or τὰ].

<sup>2</sup> On the Hermopolite provenance of *P.Erl.* 75 (535, see Bagnall-Worp, *CSBE*<sup>2</sup> 149 and 206), the only land lease which bears the first of these collocations and is reported by its editor to come from the Oxyrhynchite region, see Hickey, *op.cit.* 205.

If this holds, the house-property under lease and the quarter of Pammenes' Garden, where the house is located (lines 9-10), would be situated at the eastern part of the city of Oxyrhynchus. The attestation of a πύλη in the same ἀμφοδον (*P.Oxy.* XVI 1958.12 of 476) already points to 'un settore periferico' (Daris, *op.cit.* 219), perhaps as indicated by this docket, the eastern one.

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## A Greek Papyrus Amulet from the Duke Collection with Biblical Excerpts\*

## ABSTRACT

Publication of a hitherto unpublished Duke papyrus from sixth century AD Egypt containing, on the recto, LXX Ps. 90, the heading of Ps. 91 and, on the verso, a version of the Lord's Prayer and a doxology. The texts show a number of omissions and variations from the standard textual tradition which always offer inferior readings. Numerous spelling mistakes. The papyrus was probably used as an amulet. The text edition is accompanied by a complete list of papyrological parallels.

P.Duk. inv. 778 = 11.5 cm x 26.8 cm late VI / early VII  
P.Rob. inv. 41 Provenance unknown  
<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/images/150dpi/778r-at150.gif>

The hitherto unpublished P.Duk. inv. 778, known formerly as P.Rob. inv. 41, is described in some detail on the relevant page of the Duke Papyrus Collection's web site.<sup>1</sup> It is a medium brown papyrus sheet of mediocre quality. Its precise measurements are provided as 11.5 cm × 26.8 cm. As is clear from the digital image and the description available on this web site, the papyrus has been pieced together from several fragments, which join physically. The sheet appears to have been folded eight times vertically and once

\* We would like to thank Prof. J. Sosin for his permission to publish this papyrus and for the helpful information he kindly provided. We are particularly grateful for his making available to us higher resolution images, which significantly facilitated our deciphering of the text. This article was begun within the framework of the Austrian START-Project "Edition of Papyri from Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine Egypt." C.A. La'da and A. Papathomas have completed this article with the support of the projects "T 047 136" of OTKA, Hungary and of "70/4/5523" of EAKE, University of Athens, Greece, respectively. We would also like to thank an anonymous referee for BASP for reading an earlier version of our article and for making a number of helpful suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> See <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/records/778.html>.

horizontally, no doubt to allow the owner to place it in a confined space and perhaps to carry it with him- or herself. Along the folds numerous lacunae of varying size are visible on the sheet. The writing is along the fibres on both the recto and the verso, the latter of which is inscribed *transversa charta* (in accordance with common papyrological practice, we judge the better quality side of the papyrus to be the recto). The ink is black. On the recto narrow margins are preserved at the top, the bottom, and on the left hand side. The width of the left margin is stated as 0.5 cm. On the verso the upper margin measures 0.5 cm and the lower 17.5 cm. In lines 22-4 a narrow margin is preserved on the left hand side.

The recto is inscribed with a poor quality copy of the standard text of LXX Psalm 90 and what must be the heading introducing Psalm 91. The identification of the latter text, line 14 of the recto, is based on the almost identical wording<sup>2</sup> and on the fact that it is logical to expect Psalm 91, rather than any other Psalm, immediately to follow Psalm 90. Finally, none of the other Psalm headings appear to be sufficiently similar to line 14 to be considered a plausible alternative to this identification.<sup>3</sup> We may note in this context that it is interesting and indeed surprising to observe that the heading of the Psalm 90 (Αἶνός φδῆς τῷ Δαυίδ) is not given at the beginning of our papyrus. On the verso a version of the Lord's Prayer from Matthew 6.9-13 (cf. also Luke 11.2-4) is written, followed by a common doxological formula. The latter contains a form of the doxology well known from the liturgies of the early Christian East (see further the commentary to lines 21-5).

The combination of all four of these texts on one papyrus is hitherto unattested in the source-material. Nevertheless, two papyri which contain Psalm 90 together with the Lord's Prayer and a doxology — both apparently having been used as amulets — are already known.<sup>4</sup> Further, less close parallels have also been pub-

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<sup>2</sup> For the two minor differences, see the apparatus criticus and the relevant part of the line commentary below.

<sup>3</sup> For other Psalm headings, also showing some, albeit far less close, similarity with line 14, see those of Psalms 23, 37, 92 and 93.

<sup>4</sup> PSI VI 719 = K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*<sup>2</sup>, Vol. II (Stuttgart 1974) P 19 (pp. 227-8) and L. Amundsen, *Symb. Osl.* 24 (1945) 141-7; cf. also P.Princ. II 107.

lished, in which two of these four texts occur together.<sup>5</sup> The appearance of these four texts on an amulet is hardly surprising as all of these are known to have been widely used for the composition of amulets in Egypt.<sup>6</sup>

The fact that the recto is practically completely covered by the text, whereas text covers only approximately one third of the verso and the rest is left blank suggests that the recto was inscribed first. This is confirmed by the superior quality of the recto's surface. A further indication may be the position of the three staurograms at the beginning of the text of the recto and that of the three crosses immediately below the writing on the verso.

The texts on both sides contain numerous textual variants in comparison with the standard tradition of these sections of the Bible, as well as a number of phonetic spellings, reflecting the contemporary pronunciation of Greek. These variants have no dogmatic significance and are merely due to these texts having been copied hastily or possibly reflect the poor quality of the manuscript which the scribe reproduced. The similar length of the omitted passages (lines 6, 16, 19 with the apparatus criticus) seems to suggest that the manuscript which the scribe was copying had a colometric structure; the omitted passages were probably complete individual lines in the original manuscript which were overlooked during the copying process.

Our identification of the papyrus as an amulet rests on the following considerations. First, the inferior quality of both the papyrus and the texts written on it suggests that this manuscript was meant for everyday purposes and that it does not come from an expensive and carefully prepared papyrus codex. The orthography is generally very poor, the handwriting reveals a careless writer and the texts show omissions and wide variations from the standard tradition which always offer inferior readings. Further, the numer-

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<sup>5</sup> See, for example, *P.Giss.Lit.* 5.4 (Pater Noster and Psalm 90); *P.Princ.* II 107 (Psalm 90 and Pater Noster); *PGM* (see above n. 4) II, P 9 (p. 217) (Pater Noster and doxology); *P.Bad.* IV 60 (Pater Noster and doxology).

<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, *P.Ant.* II, p. 6; *P.Köln* IV, p. 32; *P.Leid.Inst.*, p. 26; *P.Oxy.* XVI, p. 208 and R.W. Daniel, "A Christian Amulet on Papyrus," *Vigiliae Christianae* 37 (1983) 400-1.

ous folds resulted in a small format which enabled the owner to hide it or carry it about himself, which is a strong indication of a papyrus used as an amulet. Finally, the Biblical passages the papyrus contains were popular and often figured on amulets (see above and the list of parallels in the Appendix below).<sup>7</sup>

The recto and the verso appear to have been written by the same hand. The handwriting can be characterised as that of a rather careless and quick Byzantine literary hand which can be dated to the sixth century A.D., probably to its second half. The scribe writes upright and generously spaced letters which are mostly separate from each other. The  $\delta$  has a triangular form and the  $\eta$ , having the shape of an 'h', is characteristic of this period. Although a date in the early seventh century appears less likely, it cannot be ruled out entirely, as the script demonstrates some palaeographical features typical of hands from this period, such as the lower end of the vertical strokes being decorated with a small right loop. For close palaeographical parallels of our text we refer to *P.Warr.* 10 (591–592) and *P.Grenf.* II 84 (= *MPER* N.S. XV 117; *Mertens-Pack*<sup>3</sup> 0051<sup>8</sup>; *LDAB* 0139<sup>9</sup>) (end of 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.), reproduced and discussed in G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800, BICS Suppl.* 47 (London 1987) 36a and 36b (pp. 80–81),<sup>10</sup> and also to *MPER* N.S. XVII 49 (6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.). There is no information available concerning the provenance or the circumstances of the acquisition of the papyrus in Egypt.

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<sup>7</sup> For a recent publication of a papyrus containing an excerpt from a Psalm and used as an amulet, see our article "Ein neues Papyrusamulett mit dem Septuaginta-Psalm 30, 3d–4a," *Aegyptus* 81 (2001) (37–46).

<sup>8</sup> This database is available at the following internet address: <http://www.ulg.ac.be/facphl/services/cedopal/MP3/fexp.shtml>.

<sup>9</sup> The up-to-date version of the database W. Clarysse, *The Leuven Database of Ancient Books (LDAB)* (Leuven 1998) is accesible at the internet address: <http://ldab.arts.kuleuven.ac.be/>.

<sup>10</sup> Similarly to *Mertens-Pack*<sup>3</sup> and *LDAB*, we accept the dating of *P.Grenf.* II 84 to the end of the sixth century proposed by Cavallo and Maehler. Further, *P.Warr.* 10 is also reproduced in E. Boswinkel and P.J. Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri, Ostraca and Mummy Labels, Tabulae Palaeographicae Fasc. I* (Amsterdam 1968) no. 45.

We have collated the text of the recto with Rahlfs' edition of the Psalms: A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta Societatis Scientiarum Göttingensis auctoritate*, Vol. X: *Psalmi cum Odis* (Göttingen 1931, 3<sup>rd</sup> impression 1979) 239–241 and, with a shorter critical apparatus, *id.*, *Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart 1935, 5<sup>th</sup> impression 1952), Vol. II, 100–1.<sup>11</sup> In the apparatus criticus we use the sigla found in Rahlfs' edition. The verso has been compared with Nestle–Aland's edition: E. and E. Nestle, B. and K. Aland *et al.*, *Novum Testamentum Graece*<sup>27</sup> (Stuttgart 1993, repr. 2001). In an appendix at the end of this article we provide an up-to-date list of parallels for Psalm 90, Psalm 91 and the Lord's Prayer in Greek manuscripts from late antique and early medieval Egypt (to the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D.). In this list we indicate which of these manuscripts have been identified in the literature as having served as amulets.

#### Recto

- Ps. 90 ⲫⲫⲫ Ⲁⲕⲁⲩⲕⲟⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲃⲟⲭⲑⲉⲓⲁ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲩⲥⲓⲧⲟⲩ ⲉⲛ *vac.* ⲥⲕⲉⲡⲭ ⲧⲓⲟⲩ]  
 ⲑⲉⲟⲩⲧⲟⲩ ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲓⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲗⲏⲥⲑⲓⲥⲁⲩ. ⲉⲣⲓ ⲧⲟⲩ ⲕⲩⲣⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲟⲩ]  
 Ἀντιλήμπτωρ μου εἶ καὶ κατὰ *vac.* φυγὴ μου, ὁ θεός [vac.] μου,  
 βοηθός μου καὶ ἐλπῶ ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὅτι αὐτῶς ῥύσεται με  
 ἐκ παγίδος θυρευτῶν καὶ ἀπὸ λόγου ταραχῆ *vac.* δουσ. ἐν ταῖς  
 μεταφρέναις αὐτοῦ ἐπισκιάσει σε, καὶ  
 4 ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρηγας αὐτοῦ ἐλπῖς· ὅπλῳ κεκλώσει σε ἢ ἀλήθε[ι]α  
 αὐτοῦ. οὐ φ[ο]βηθήσομαι ἀπὸ φόβου νυκτηρινοῦ  
 καὶ ἀπὸ βέλους πετομένους ὑμέρας, ἀπὸ πράγματος διαπ[ο]ρευ-  
 ομένου ἐν σκότι, ἀπ[ὸ] συνπτώματος καὶ δεμῶνιου  
 μηρηβρινοῦ. πεσῖ[ται] ἐκ τοῦ κλίτ[ο]υ σου χελειᾶς καὶ μηρ[ιᾶ]ς ἐκ  
 δε[ξι]ῶν σου, πλὴν τῆς ὀφθαλμοῦ σου

<sup>11</sup> The Greek text in W. Groß and B. Janowski (unter Mitwirkung von Th. Pola), *Psalter-Synopse. Hebräisch – Griechisch – Deutsch* (Stuttgart 2000) reproduces Rahlfs' edition of 1935.

- κατανο[ή]σοις καὶ [ἀνταπόδοσι]ν ἁμαρτωλῶν ὁ[ψη]. τὸ[ν ὕψι]στων  
 [ἔθου] καταφυ[γῇ]ν σου.
- 8 οὐ προσελεύσεται πρ[ὸς] σε κακ[ά, ο]ὐδὲ μάστιγος οὐ[κ ἐ]γγιεῖ τοῦ  
 σκηνώμα[τ]ος, ὅτι τ[οῖς] ἀγγέλ[οις]  
 αὐτοῦ ἐ[ν]τελεῖται περ[ι] σου <τοῦ> δι[ι]αφυλάξῃ πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς  
 σου· ἐπὶ χειρ[ῶν] ἁρῶ[ς] ἐπὶ σε, μήποτε προσκώψῃ[ς]  
 πρὸς λείθων τῶ[ν πόδα] σου· ἐπὶ ἀσπίδας καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσεις  
 καὶ καταπατήσεις  
 λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα. ὅτι ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἡλπισα, καὶ ῥύσωμαι αὐτόν· καὶ  
 σκεπάζω αὐτόν. ἐπικαλέσεται με ἐ΄,
- 12 καὶ εἰσακούσωμε αὐτοῦ, μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰμι ἐν θλίψει, ἐξελοῦμεν καὶ  
 δωξάσω αὐτόν, ὅτι ἔγνω·
- τὸ ὄνομά μου. ἐνπλήσω αὐτῶν ἐν μακρότητι ἡμερῶν καὶ δίδω  
 αὐτῷ τὸ σουτήριόν μου.
- Ps. 91 Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δ[α]υεὶτ ἐ[ἰς] ἡμέραν [τοῦ σα]ββάτου. ἄλλους [. . .] vac.

## Verso

- Mt. 6.9-13 Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τῆς οὐρανοῦς, ἁγιασθήτω  
 16 τὸ ὄνομά σου· ἐλθάτο ἡ βασιλία, ὅς ἐν  
 [ο]ὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆ[ς γ]ῆς· τῶν ἄρτων ἡμῶν·  
 τῶν ἐποιούσιων δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον·
- 20 καὶ ἄφεσ ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφήματα ἡμῶν· μὴ ε-  
 [1-2]νινκε ἡμᾶς εἰς πηλαγῶν, κ(ύρι)ε,  
 Doxology [ἀ]λλὰ ῥῆξῃ ἡμᾶς [ἀπὸ τοῦ] πονηροῦ διὰ  
 τὸ μονογενῆ υἱόν, ὅτι σου ἐστιν  
 ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κρ[ά]τος καὶ τοῦ παν-  
 24 αγίου σου πνεύμα[τος] γιν καὶ ἀγιν  
 [καὶ] εἰς τοὺς ἑω[ριν]ακ τῶ[ν] ἑώνων. Θ[θ].
- † † †

1 l. κατοικῶν ὑψ[.]του pap. 1. αὐλιεθῆσεται 1. ἐρεῖ 1. τῷ 1. κυρίῳ μο[v] om. Rahlfs 2 ὅτ pap. βοηθός μου om. Rahlfs, sed includunt *L<sup>pau</sup>Tht<sup>p</sup>* καί om. Rahlfs 1. αὐτός 1. ῥύσεται 3 l. θηρευτῶν 1. ταραχώδους 1. τοῖς 1. μεταφρένοις 1. ἐπισκιάσει 1. σοι 4 l. πτέρυγας 1. ἐλπιεῖς 1. κυκλώσει 1. φοβηθήσῃ 1. νυκτερινοῦ 5 καί om. Rahlfs, sed includunt S Sa 1. πετομένου 1. ἡμέρας 1. σκότει 1. κυμπτώματος 1. δαιμονίου 6 l. μεσημβρινοῦ 1. πεσεῖται 1. κλίτους 1. χιλιάς 1. μυριάς ἐκ δε[ξι]ῶν σου pap.: ἐκ δεξιῶν σου, πρὸς σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἐγγιεῖ Rahlfs 1. τοῖς 1. ὀφθαλμοῖς 7 l. κατανοήσεις καὶ κ ex α corr. ὄ[ψη] pap.: ὄψη. ὅτι κύ, κύριε, ἡ ἐλπίς μου Rahlfs 1. ὕψιστον 8 ο[υ]δέ pap.: καὶ Rahlfs 1. μάστιξ 1. τῷ 1. σκηνώματι σκηνώμα[τ]ος pap.: σκηνώματί σου Rahlfs 9 l. διαφυλάξαι: τοῦ διαφυλάξαι σε Rahlfs πάσαις pap.: ἐν πάσαις Rahlfs 1. ὁδοῖς 1. ἀροῦσιν 1. προσκόψῃς 10 l. λίθον 1. τόν 1. ἐπ' 1. ἀσπίδα 1. ἐπιβήσῃ 1. καταπατήσῃς 11 l. δράκοντα 1. ἤλπισεν 1. ῥύσσομαι 1. αὐτόν καὶ om. Rahlfs σκεπασώ· αὐτῷ pap. 1. αὐτόν σκεπάσω αὐτῷ pap.: σκεπάσω αὐτόν, ὅτι ἔγνω τὸ ὄνομά μου Rahlfs 1. ἐπικαλέσεται 12 l. εἰσακούσομαι 1. θλίψει ἐξελοῦμεν pap.: καὶ ἐξελοῦμαι Rahlfs 1. δοξάσω 1. αὐτόν 1. ἔγνω 12-13 ὅτι ἔγνω· ν' | τῷ ὄνομά μου om. Rahlfs 13 l. ἐμπλήσῃ 1. αὐτόν ἐνπλήσῃ αὐτῶν ἐν μακρότητι ἡμερῶν pap.: μακρότητα ἡμερῶν ἐμπλήσῃ αὐτόν Rahlfs (μακρότητι legunt B') 1. δείξω 1. τό 1. σωτήριον 14 τῷ Δ[α]νεῖτ pap.: ὥδῃς Rahlfs εἰ[c] pap.: εἰς τὴν Rahlfs ἄλλους [.] : om. Rahlfs, notatio scribae 15 l. πᾶτερ 1. τοῖς οὐρανοῖς v ex o corr.? 16 l. ἐλθέτω 1. βασιλεία βασιλία pap.: βασιλεία σου· γεννηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου Nestle – Aland 1. ὡς 17 l. οὐρανῷ τῇ[c] om. Nestle – Aland, sed includunt codd. 1. τόν 1. ἄρτον 18 l. τόν 1. ἐπιούσιον 19 l. ἡμῖν ὀφήματα o ex ω corr. 1. ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν v ex c corr. ἡμῶν pap.: ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφῆκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν Nestle – Aland μὴ pap.: καὶ μὴ Nestle – Aland 19-20 l. εἰσενέγκῃς 20 l. πειρασμόν κ(ύρι)ε om. Nestle – Aland, κε pap. 21 l. ῥῦσαι 22 l. τόν 23 l. τό 1. κράτος 24 l. σου 1. νῦν 1. αἰεί 25 l. αἰῶνας 1. αἰώνων

## Recto

1 ὑψ[ί]του: Only tiny traces of the ψ survive.

ἐν vac. σκέπη: A space equalling the width of approximately four letters has been left blank by the scribe.

οὐρανοῦ: The second half of the word is damaged. For the round shape of the final υ, see this letter in εἰσακούσωμε in line 12. Attached to this letter is a gently curving decorative stroke which makes it look like an α.

μο[v]: This word appears to have been written very close to the preceding word and in cramped letters, probably because the scribe realised that he was running out of space at the end of the line.

2 Ἀντιλήμπτωρ: Although faint traces of ink can be seen before this word in the margin which seem to have the shape of εἰ, these are probably no more than mere smudges of ink, which is also shown by the fact that εἰ occurs later in the line.

κατα vac. φύγη: A blank space of approximately one letter's width.

3 παραχό vac. δουσ: A blank space equalling approximately one letter's width.

4 ἀλήθε[ι]α: Only a tiny part of the final α is preserved.

φ[ο]βηθήσομαι: For the shape of the μ, cf., for example, the μ in κληνώμα[τ]ος in line 8 and in μου in line 13. This form of the verb is a mistake for φοβηθήκη, due to the scribe having confused the persons. The reason for this may have been the fact that many of the Psalms, as well as numerous Christian prayers, are composed in the first person singular and that the scribe did not completely understand the sense of this passage. We might also suppose that the scribe made this mistake by subconsciously relating the text to himself.

5 πράγματος: Between the second α and the τ a stroke gently curving to the bottom right can be seen, suggesting that the scribe started to write a different letter but that he corrected it to a τ.

6 μηκηβρινοῦ: The surface between the c and the β seems to have been abraded and, for this reason, the reading of the remaining traces in this area cannot be entirely certain. The space is too short for two characters. The surviving traces seem to us to be more compatible with an η than with a μ.

κλίτ[ο]υ σου: The second part of the word has suffered heavy damage and so the letters after the ι, especially the τ, are very difficult to read. The letter string κλίτ[ο]υ σου contains a straightforward case of haplography. Both transcriptions κλίτ[ο]υ <c> σου and κλίτ[ο]υ <c> ου are possible. In our text we favoured the first alternative, having assumed that the short pronoun is less likely to have been affected by such a copying error. This might also be suggested by the fact that the scribe wrote the pronoun as a single unit without lifting up his *kalamos*.



μηρ[ιὰ]ς ἐκ δε[ξι]ῶν: Due to the extensive damage this part of the papyrus has sustained, the distribution of the individual letters is highly insecure but the general reconstruction of the passage appears virtually certain, as the textual tradition offers no alternative.

πλὴν τῆς ὀφθαλμοῦ σου: The letter string ὀφθαλμοῦ σου also contains a haplography. For our reasons for preferring the transcription ὀφθαλμοῦ <c> σου to ὀφθαλμοῖς <c>ου, see the note on the words κλίτ[ο]υ σου above. In addition, the reading of the first two words in this passage is problematic. Two alternatives seem to offer themselves, of which we print the first one above as it appears slightly more probable to us. It involves interpreting the traces immediately before the lacuna as a ν and those immediately after as a τ with a slanting cross-bar followed by a tall ι (for the usual shape of this letter combination, cf., for example, κκότι in line 5). The other alternative would be to interpret the traces to the right of the lacuna as a ν and to consider the following horizontal stroke as the cross-bar of a τ, to which a large ο is attached. In this case we would have to supplement: πλὴν τ<οῖς> ὀφθαλμοῖς <c> σου.

8 ἐ]γγιεῖ: Only tiny traces of ink are visible from the first letters.

κ κηνώμα[τ]οc: Of the first c only the end of the cross-bar touching the following κ survives.

ἀγγέλ[οιc]: Only tiny traces of ink remain from the first five letters.

9 ἐ[ν]τελεῖται περ[ι] σου <τοῦ> δ[ι]αφυλάξῃ (-αι): Although the reconstruction adopted above involves assuming two mistakes on the scribe's part, the alternative interpretation ἐ[ν]τελεῖται περ[ι] σου δ[ι]αφυλάξῃ seems less likely because of its less satisfactory sense.

χε[ρ]ῶν: The ρ has been completely rubbed off the surface.

προκώψη[c]: From the η only specks of ink remain.

11 ἥλιcα: A mistake for ἥλιcεν. The traces remaining after the c appear to be more compatible with an α than with an ε even though this causes some difficulty of interpretation (cf. the note on φ[ο]βηθήcομαι in line 4 above).

11-3 In the manuscript tradition the causal clause  $\delta\tau\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\nu\omega$   $\tau\acute{o}$   $\acute{o}\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}$   $\mu\omicron\upsilon$  follows the sentence  $\kappa\epsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\omega$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ , but in our papyrus it was transposed to the end of the next sentence after  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\delta\omega\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\omega$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$  (l.  $\delta\omega\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\omega$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ ). This is merely due to a copying error, the scribe probably having been misled by the word  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}$  (l.  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$ ), which closes both main sentences.

12 Between  $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\iota$  and  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  some ink is visible, which we are however unable to interpret as a specific character. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that the scribe started to write a  $\mu$  or, less likely, a  $\kappa$ .

13  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\varsigma\omega$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\mu\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\eta\tau\iota$   $\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\omega\tilde{\nu}$ : For the construction  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  + dative with the verb  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\acute{\iota}\pi\lambda\eta\mu\iota$ , see R. Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den Septuaginta; Ein Beitrag zur Hebraismenfrage und zur Syntax der Koινή* (Göttingen 1928) 144-147, cf. also W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*<sup>6</sup>, by K. Aland and B. Aland (Berlin, New York 1988) s.v.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , III, and F.W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature, based on Walter Bauer's Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch (BDAG)*<sup>3</sup> (Chicago, London 2000) s.v.  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ , 5.

14  $\epsilon[\acute{\iota}\varsigma]$   $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\nu$ : Although in the manuscript tradition of Psalm 91 the noun is preceded by the definite article, the lacuna does not appear to be wide enough for it.

$\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ : This word may be interpreted as a reference to other Psalms and might have been carried over by the scribe from the manuscript he was copying. An alternative interpretation could be to assume the meaning "and so on" for this word, referring to the text of Psalm 91, which was not continued on the sheet.

After  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  small and faint traces of ink are visible on the edge of the lacuna and, again, to its right. These might be interpreted as suggesting crosses or staurograms at the end of the text and, together with those at the start, as framing it.

#### Verso

15 The first line is indented by one character; it is possible that a cross preceded the  $\pi$ :  $[\dagger]$   $\Pi\acute{o}\tau\eta\rho$ .

16 After βασιλία, the words σου and γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου are omitted by the scribe. It is virtually certain that this has no dogmatic significance whatsoever and that it is merely due to an error on the scribe's part.

17 [ο]ὑρανοῦ: Of the υ only a faint stroke from its bottom right part seems to have been preserved (cf. the shape of the letter combination υρ in line 15).

19 ἡμῶν: The scribe corrected a c to the final ω. For the shape of the c, see this letter in παραμῶν in line 20. This c may originally have been meant as that of ὡc, which introduced the second part of verse 12 of the Lord's Prayer (ὡc καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφήκαμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν), omitted in our papyrus. The scribe probably wrote ἡμῶc instead of ἡμῶν, being misled by ὡc following it. Immediately realising his mistake, he corrected the c to a ν. Looking back at the text he was copying, he probably saw ἡμῶν at the end of verse 12 instead of the same word in the middle of the verse, and therefore he continued by copying verse 13. This meant that he unintentionally omitted the second part of verse 12, which is in fact a colometric line.

καί: Only a tiny trace of the bottom of the right leg of the κ survives.

19-20 ε[1-2]νινκε: We have to assume a mistake here since the manuscript tradition has εἰς ἐνέγκηc. Although it cannot be ruled out completely, it seems unlikely that the smudged ink above the ε at the end of line 19 covers a raised ιc for the following reasons. First, the ι is not likely to be separated from the preceding ε and there would have been enough room for it at the end of the line. Further, we cannot detect any traces compatible with these two letters under the smudged ink above the ε. For supplementing the beginning of line 20, the following possibilities appear to be available: a) ε[ιcέ]νινκε, which is unlikely, given the fact that the space available at the start of line 20 is not sufficient for three letters; or b) ἐ[νέ]νινκε, in which case we have to assume that the scribe used an incorrect form of the simple verb φέρω instead of the composite εἰς φέρω; for two letters placed in the corresponding tight space at the beginning of a line, see [ο]ὑρανοῦ in line 17. An even more attractive version of this supplement would be ἐ[νί]νινκε, which

would require less space and would involve the same mistake as the one made in the following syllable.

21 πονηροῦ: Only tiny traces of the first four letters survive.

21-5 The doxological formula these lines contain is well known from the liturgical tradition of eastern Christianity; cf. the liturgy of St. Mark in F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western, Being the Texts Original or Translated of the Principal Liturgies of the Church*, Vol. I, *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford 1896, repr. 1965) 115, ll. 20-1: δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ τοῖς ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ | ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.<sup>12</sup> For the doxologies following the Pater Noster in early Christian liturgy, see F.H. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (Cambridge 1891) 168-76 and B.M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament; A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (Fourth Revised Edition)*<sup>2</sup> (Stuttgart 1994) 13-4. For two examples of a papyrus amulet containing the Pater Noster followed by a doxology, we refer to U. Wilcken, "Heidnisches und Christliches aus Ägypten," *APF* 1 (1901) 396-436 (esp. 431-6) = *W.Christ.* 133 = *BGU* III 954 = *PGM* (see above n. 4) II, P 9 (p. 217) (*LDAB* 6231, van Haelst, *Catalogue*,<sup>13</sup> 720, Aland, *Repertorium* I,<sup>14</sup> Var 28) (6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.)<sup>15</sup> and *P.Bad.* IV 60 (7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.).

<sup>12</sup> On doxologies in the early Christian Church, see e.g. *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, eds. G. Krause†, G. Müller et al., Vol. XI (Berlin, New York 1983) 266-7 and *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*<sup>3</sup>, eds. W. Kasper et al., Vol. III (Freiburg, Basel, Rome, Vienna 1995) 354-7 with the earlier literature cited in these works. Frequently attested in Christian sources from late antique and early medieval Egypt is the so-called δοξολογία μεγάλη or *hymnus angelicus*, known as ὕμνος ἑωθινός in the manuscript tradition (*Psalmi cum Odis*, ed. Rahlfs, 364-5). For recently published papyrological attestations of this important type of doxology, see, for example, F. Maltomini, "P. Vindob. G. 26030: ΔΟΞΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΜΕΓΑΛΗ," *ZPE* 60 (1985) 267-72 and N. Gonis, "A Fragment of the *Great Doxology* in the Bodleian Library," *ZPE* 130 (2000) 172-4.

<sup>13</sup> J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*, Université de Paris IV, Paris-Sorbonne. Série "Papyrologie" 1 (Paris 1976).

<sup>14</sup> K. Aland, *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri*, Vol. I, *Biblische Papyri*, PTS 18 (Berlin, New York 1976).

<sup>15</sup> In line 25 of this text, in the lacuna after τοὺς αἰῶν[α . . . . .] the supplement τοὺς αἰῶν[α τῶν αἰώνων] appears likely on the basis of the early Chris-

21-2 διὰ | τὸ μονογενῆ υἱόν: The accusative after διὰ is certain because of the form μονογενῆ, even though we would expect the genitive on the basis of the parallels. For the use of the genitive in this construction in the early Christian liturgy, see Εὐχολόγιον Σαραπίωνος 4 (ed. F.X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Vol. II: *Testimonia et Scripturae Propinquae* [Paderborn 1905] 162): ... διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κτλ. For a papyrological attestation, cf. *P.Oxy.* III 407 (see footnote 15 above), 5-7: διὰ τοῦ κυρίου κα[ι] σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ | Χρ{ε}ιστοῦ δι' οὗ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας | τῶν αἰώνων[v]. ἀμήν.

22 τὸ μονογενῆ υἱόν: The reading of the last word is fraught with palaeographical difficulties for the following reasons. The shape of the υ is unusual and, of the ι and ο, only tiny traces can be seen. Nevertheless, this interpretation seems to be the most consistent with both the manuscript tradition of this passage and the available space. A further alternative would be to read a ν instead of an υ after the η, which would give the form μονογενῆν. Although this form would not be surprising in the context of late Greek, there does not appear to be sufficient space for υἱόν before ὅτι. An alternative to reading υἱόν might be κοῦ, interpreting μονογενῆν as a substantivised adjective, but the surviving traces do not appear to support this reading. For a mention of the only-begotten Son in a doxology on a papyrus used as an amulet, see, for example, *P.Lond.Lit.* 231 = *PGM* II, P 5d, 2-3 (p. 214) (*LDAB* 6575, van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 933) (7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.): τὸν | υἱὸν μονογενῆ περιβέβλημα[ι].

22-3 ὅτι κοῦ ἐστιν | ἡ δόξα: These words occur frequently in doxologies following the Lord's Prayer in the early Christian tradition; for examples, see the apparatus criticus in C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece ad antiquissimos testes*, Editio octava critica

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tian tradition of the doxology, cf. Brightman, *ibid.* This part of the liturgy is well documented also in papyri and ostraca from Egypt: for examples, see the Berlin ostrakon (inv. no. 12683) edited by O. Stegmüller, "Christliche Texte aus der Berliner Papyrussammlung," *Aegyptus* 17 (1937) 452-62 (esp. 459-62) (*LDAB* 5925; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 877), ll. 3-4 (late 5<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.); *P.Oxy.* III 407 (= F. Pedretti, "Papiri christiani liturgici," *Aegyptus* 36 [1956] 247-53 [esp. 249-53]) (*LDAB* 5531; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 952), ll. 6-7 (3<sup>rd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.); and line 25 of our papyrus.

maior (Leipzig 1872-1894) I 26 (containing among others two examples of a doxology in which the word δόξα is used along with κράτος). For a papyrus identified as an amulet and containing the Lord's Prayer followed by these words characteristic of the doxological vocabulary, see *P.Iand.* I 6 = C. Wessely, "Les plus anciens monuments du christianisme écrits sur papyrus II," *Patrologia Orientalis* 18 (1924) 341-511 (esp. 415-7) = *PGM* II, P 17 (pp. 226-7) = *P.Giss.Lit.* 5.4 (*LDAB* 6107, van Haelst 917, Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 30) (5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.). Cf. Kuhlmann's commentary in *P.Giss.Lit.* 5.4, p. 178.

23 κρ[ά]τωϛ: Only a speck of ink from the vertical stroke of the ρ survives.

25 εἰς τοῦς ἐῶ[vac τῶ]ν ἐώνων: This expression is obviously the expanded version of εἰς τοῦς αἰῶνας, which is frequently attested following the Lord's Prayer in Byzantine manuscripts; see the apparatus criticus on this passage in *The Greek New Testament*, fourth revised edition by B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C.M. Martini and B.M. Metzger (Stuttgart 1993) 18-9. On the expanded version found in our papyrus, see the literary and papyrological parallels cited in our commentary on lines 21-5 and 21-2 above.

Ϟ[ϟ]: Most probably the isopsephistic value (= 99) of the word ἀμήν (1+40+50+8 = 99).

## Appendix

Parallel Attestations in Greek Manuscripts (Papyri, Ostraca, Tablets etc.) from Late Antique and Early Medieval Egypt (to the 10<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.)

### I. Parallel Attestations of Psalm 90<sup>16</sup>

1. *P.Bodm.* XXIV — 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Panopolis? — *LDAB* 3098; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 118; Aland, *Repertorium* I, AT 53; Rahlfs 2110 — Lit.: A. Pietersma, *BASP* 17 (1980) 67-79; K. Treu, *APF* 19 (1969) 176.
2. L. Amundsen, *Symb. Osl.* 24 (1945) 141-7 — late 4<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Oxyrhynchos? — *LDAB* 2994; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 345; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 27; Rahlfs 2115 — Lit.: K. Treu, *APF* 19 (1969) 195 — amulet.
3. *P.Princ.* II 107 — 4<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 5835; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 967 — amulet.
4. H.A. Sanders, *The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (New York 1917) 105-357 — 4<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Giza or White Monastery? — *LDAB* 3220; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 83; Rahlfs 1219 — Plate: G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Florence 1967) pl. 109.
5. *P.Leid.Inst.* 10 — 5<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 3241 — Lit.: C. Römer, *APF* 43 (1997) 112, no. 18 — amulet.
6. R. Pintaudi, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 50-4 = *P.Laur.* IV 141 recto — late 5<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 3235 — Lit.: K. Treu, *APF* 28 (1982) 92, no. 197a; Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, 46 (with pl. 19b).
7. *P.Oxy.* XVI 1928 — 5<sup>th</sup> - early 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Oxyrhynchos — *LDAB* 3284; van Haelst, *Catalogue* 183; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 14; Rahlfs 2106 — amulet.
8. *P.Ryl.* I 3 — 5<sup>th</sup> - early 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Oxyrhynchos — *LDAB* 3279; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 201; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 15; Rahlfs 2020 — amulet?

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<sup>16</sup> We exclude from this list the metal bracelets which had served as amulets and were published by J. Maspero, "Bracelets-amulettes d'époque byzantine," *ASAE* 9 (1908) 252-4, nos. VI, VII and VIII = *SB* I 1577-1579 (6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D., van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 189-91) as they come from Syria.

9. *P.Iand.* I 6 = Wessely, "Les plus anciens monuments," 415-7 = *PGM* II, P 17 (pp. 226-227) = *P.Giss.Lit.* 5.4 — 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown (bought in Hermoupolis) — *LDAB* 6107; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 917; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 30 — amulet.
10. F. Krebs, "Altchristliche Texte im Berliner Museum," *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität zu Göttingen aus dem Jahre 1892* (Göttingen 1892) 118-20 = *BKT* VI 7.1 = Wessely, "Les plus anciens monuments," 412-3 — 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Fayum — *LDAB* 6091; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 731 — Lit.: D. Limongi, *Anal. Pap.* 7 (1995) 57-8 — amulet.
11. *P.Oxy.* XVII 2065 — 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Oxyrhynchos — *LDAB* 3285; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 200; Rahlfs 2105 — amulet?
12. *PSI* VII 759 = M. Naldini, *Documenti dell'Antichità cristiana* (Florence 1964) 29-30, no. 35 — 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 3232; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 196 + 1176; Aland, *Repertorium* I, AT 80; Rahlfs 2074 — Lit.: P. Degni in G. Cavallo et al., *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico*, Pap. Flor. 30 (Florence 1998) 159, no. 78 (with pl. 68); K. Treu, *APF* 19 (1969) 178; G.D. Kilpatrick, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 78 (1966) 224; M. Naldini, "Ascesi biblica in un frammento adespoto (*PSI* 759)," in *Forma Futuri. Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino* (Turin 1975) 70-8 — amulet.
13. C. Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection* (Cambridge 1900) 51-85 — 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Cairo, Genizah — *LDAB* 3469; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 203 — Lit.: N. Tchernetska in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4-10 ottobre 1998)*, ed. G. Prato, Pap. Flor. 31 (Florence 2000) 737 — Aquila's version.
14. *P.Bodl.* I 4 — 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 3337; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 202; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 16; Rahlfs 2081 — Lit.: C. Römer, *APF* 44 (1998) 130, no. 5 — amulet?
15. J. Nicole, *Textes grecs inédits de la Collection papyrologique de Genève* (Geneva, Basel 1909) 43-9, no. VI = Wessely, "Les plus anciens monuments," 410-1 — 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown



- *LDAB* 3318; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 198; Rahlfs 2048 — amulet.
16. *PSI* VI 719 = *PGM* II, P 19 (pp. 227-8) = Naldini, *Documenti*, 32-3, no. 40 — 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Oxyrhynchos? — *LDAB* 2767; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 423; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 31; Rahlfs 2075 — Lit.: R. Pintaudi, *Anal. Pap.* 2 (1990) 27 — amulet.
  17. R.W. Daniel, *Vigiliae Christianae* 37 (1983) 400-4 — 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 3482 — Lit.: K. Treu, *APF* 32 (1986) 87, no. 190a — amulet.
  18. J. Maspero, *ASAE* 9 (1908) 247-50, no. I = *SB* I 1572 — 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — near Saqqara — van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 184 — amulet.
  19. J. Maspero, *ASAE* 9 (1908) 250-1, no. II = *SB* I 1574 — 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — near Saqqara — van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 185 — amulet.
  20. J. Maspero, *ASAE* 9 (1908) 250-1, no. III = *SB* I 1574 — 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — near Saqqara — van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 186 — amulet.
  21. J. Maspero, *ASAE* 9 (1908) 251, no. 8 = *SB* I 1575 — 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — near Saqqara — van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 187 — amulet.
  22. J. Maspero, *ASAE* 9 (1908) 252, no. IV = *SB* I 1576 — 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 188 — J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, CGC 12 (Vienna 1904) 331, no. 7022 — amulet.
  23. *SPP* XX 294 = C.F.G. Heinrici, *Beiträge zur Geschichte und Erklärung des Neuen Testamentes*, Vol. IV: *Die Leipziger Papyrusfragmente der Psalmen* (Leipzig 1903) 30-2 = *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer. Führer durch die Ausstellung* (Vienna 1894) 124-5, no. 528 (K. Wessely and E. Bormann) = Wessely, "Les plus anciens monuments," 411 = J. Henner, H. Förster and U. Horak, *Christliches mit Feder und Faden*, Nilus 3 (Vienna 1999) 48-9, no. 38 — 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Fayum — *LDAB* 3488; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 195; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 13; Rahlfs 2031 — amulet.
  24. *BKT* VIII 12 — 7<sup>th</sup> - 8<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 3417; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 197; Rahlfs 2043 — amulet.
  25. *BKT* VIII 13 — 7<sup>th</sup> - 8<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 3418; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 199; Rahlfs 2062 — amulet.

26. *SB I 3573* = E. Le Blant, *Revue Archéologique* 29 (1875) 306-7, no. 86 = W.M. Brashear, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 102 — 7<sup>th</sup> - 9<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 3443; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 192 — amulet.
27. L. Delaporte, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 18 (1913) 87-8 (descr.) — date unknown — White Monastery — van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 153; Rahlfs 2084.
28. *SB I 970* = J.G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions*, CGC 18 (Oxford 1905) 133, no. 33019 = *PGM II*, T 2b (p. 236) = W. Brashear, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 101 — date unknown — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 3463; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 194 — amulet.
29. *SB I 2021* = G. Lumbroso, *Documenti greci del Regio Museo Egizio di Torino* (Turin 1869) 23-4 = E. Le Blant, *Revue Archéologique* 29 (1875) 241-2, no. 80 = *PGM II*, T 2a (p. 236) = W. Brashear, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 101 — date unknown — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 3449; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 193 — amulet.

## II. Parallel Attestations of Psalm 91

1. *P.Bodm. XXIV* — 2<sup>nd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Panopolis? — *LDAB* 3098; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 118; Aland, *Repertorium I*, AT 53; Rahlfs 2110 — Lit.: A. Pietersma, *BASP* 17 (1980) 67-79; K. Treu, *APF* 19 (1969) 176.
2. H.A. Sanders, *The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (New York 1917) 105-357 — 4<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Giza or White Monastery? — *LDAB* 3220; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 83; Rahlfs 1219 — Plate: Cavallo, *Ricerche*, pl. 109.
3. *MPER N.S. IV 15* — 5<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Fayum? — *LDAB* 3256; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 204; Rahlfs 2097 — Lit.: H. Harrauer and K.A. Worp, *Tyche* 8 (1993) 38-9; K. Treu, *APF* 19 (1969) 178 — no heading.
4. *P.Eleph. Wagner 165* = G. Nachtergaele, *CE* 73 (1998) 119-20 = F. Winter, *Tyche* 13 (1998) 249-52 — 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Elephantine — *LDAB* 3261 — no heading — amulet.
5. C. Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection* (Cambridge 1900) 51-85 — 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Cairo, Genizah — *LDAB* 3469; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 203 — Lit.: N. Tchernetska in *I manoscritti greci tra riflessione e dibattito. Atti del V Colloquio Internazionale di*

- Paleografia Greca (Cremona, 4-10 ottobre 1998)*, ed. G. Prato, Pap. Flor. 31 (Florence 2000) 737 — Aquila's version.
6. *P.Erl.* 2 — 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 6269; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 906 — no heading.
  7. W.E. Crum and H.G. Evelyn White, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, Vol. II (New York 1926) 5, 157, no. 17 — 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Deir el-Bahri — *LDAB* 3375; Aland, *Repertorium* I, AT 81 — Lit.: K. Treu, *APF* 26 (1978) 153, no. 203a.
  8. *MPER N.S.* XVII 4 — 8<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Hermopolites — *LDAB* 3446 — Lit.: C. Römer, *APF* 43 (1997) 112, no. 19; N. Gonis, *ZPE* 142 (2003) 179–180 — no heading.

### III. Parallel Attestations of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6.9-13)<sup>17</sup>

1. *P.Ant.* II 54 — 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. A.D. — Antinoopolis — *LDAB* 5425; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 347; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 29; R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, ASP 36 (Atlanta 1996) 273, no. 387 — Lit.: E. Bammel, *Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 52 (1961) 280-1; K. Treu, *APF* 19 (1969) 180 — amulet or school text.
2. *P.Erl.Diosp.* 1 (a quotation of the first words of the Lord's Prayer at line 65) — 313/314 A.D. — Diospolis Parva.
3. *P.Oxy.* LX 4010 — 4<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Oxyrhynchos — *LDAB* 5717 — Lit.: C. Römer, *APF* 43 (1997) 126, no. 20.
4. L. Amundsen, *Symb. Osl.* 24 (1945) 141-7 — late 4<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Oxyrhynchos? — *LDAB* 2994; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 345; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 27; Rahlfs 2115 — Lit.: K. Treu, *APF* 19 (1969) 195 — amulet.
5. *P.Princ.* II 107 — 4<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 5835; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 967 — amulet.
6. H.A. Sanders, *The New Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (New York 1918) 1-247 — 4<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Giza or White Monastery? — *LDAB* 2985; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 331 + 597 — Plate: H.A. Sanders, *Facsimile of the Washington*

<sup>17</sup> We do not include in this list the ostrakon published by R. Knopf, *MDAI Athen. Abt.* 25 (1900) 313-24 = *PGM* II, O 4 (p. 235) (4<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D., *LDAB* 5594; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 348) since it originates from Megara in Greece.

- Manuscript of the Four Gospels in the Freer Collection* (Ann Arbor 1912) 17; Cavallo, *Ricerche*, pl. 108; Cavallo and Maehler, *Greek Bookhands*, pl. 15a.
7. *P.Col.* XI 293 — 5<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 2953 — Lit.: P. Mirecki, *BASP* 38 (2001) 135-8 — according to the ed., perhaps reused as an amulet.
  8. *P.Köln* IV 171 — 5<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 5971 — Lit.: K. Treu, *APF* 30 (1984) 123, no. 348a — amulet.
  9. *P.Oxy.* VIII 1151 = Wessely, "Les plus anciens monuments," 417-20 = *PGM* II, P 5b (pp. 212-3) — 5<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.? — Oxyrhynchos — *LDAB* 2802; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 959; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 32 — amulet.
  10. *P.Iand.* I 6 = Wessely, "Les plus anciens monuments," 415-7 = *PGM* II, P 17 (pp. 226-7) = *P.Giss.Lit.* 5.4 — 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown (bought in Hermoupolis) — *LDAB* 6107; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 917; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 30 — amulet.
  11. *P.Oxy.* IX 1169 — 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Oxyrhynchos — *LDAB* 2958; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 344.
  12. *P.Köln* VIII 336 — 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — prov. unknown — *LDAB* 6282 — amulet?
  13. *PSI* VI 719 = *PGM* II, P 19 (pp. 227-8) = Naldini, *Documenti*, 32-3, no. 40 — 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Oxyrhynchos? — *LDAB* 2767; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 423; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 31; Rahlfs 2075 — Lit.: R. Pintaudi, *Anal. Pap.* 2 (1990) 27 — amulet.
  14. U. Wilcken, *APF* 1 (1901) 431-6 = W.Christ. 133 = *BGU* III 954 = *PGM* II, P 9 (p. 217) — 6<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Herakleopolis — *LDAB* 6231; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 720; Aland, *Repertorium* I, Var 28 — amulet.
  15. E.A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Vol. X (Oxford 1963) no. 1533 = A. Martin, *Latomus* 42 (1983) 412-8 = *MPER* N.S. XV 184 = Henner, Förster and Horak, *Christliches*, 53, no. 43 — late 6<sup>th</sup> - mid-7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Hermoupolis? — *LDAB* 6398; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 1206 — Lit.: R. Seider, *Paläographie der lateinischen Papyri*, Vol. II.2 (Stuttgart 1981) 123, no. 47; J. Gascou in *P.Thomas*, pp. 19-23; K. Treu, *APF* 34 (1988) 77, no. 1206.
  16. A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, *Aegyptus* 60 (1980) 107-9 — 7<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D.? — Antinoopolis — *LDAB* 6594; van Haelst, *Catalogue*,

349; Cribiore, *Writing*, 252-3, no. 322 — Lit.: K. Treu, *APF* 30 (1984) 123, no. 349 — amulet or school text.

17. *P.Bad.* IV 60 — 7<sup>th</sup> - 8<sup>th</sup> cent. A.D. — Qarara — *LDAB* 6662; van Haelst, *Catalogue*, 346 — amulet.

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## The Lack of Linen-Weavers (Plate 7)

### ABSTRACT

Republication of *P.Turner* 43, a letter from Ammonianos to Moros, lines 10-14, in which a linen-weaver is described in terms of a perhaps previously unattested proverbial phrase involving ravens, "ὅπου οἱ κόρακες ἀπέρχονται."

In one of his previous letters to Ammonianos, Moros had mentioned a fine of 4,000 drachmae in case of a delay regarding some matters. Then, in this present letter, *P.Turner* 43, Ammonianos answered to him that he was not intending to delay two things: the pitch and the clothing. Delivery of the former was already arranged. But, as for the latter, he asked Moros to send him the linens.

Lines 10-14 of this letter are problematic, as they seem to interrupt the arrangements between the two men, which then continue in l. 14-15 περὶ γὰρ τῶν χιτ[ω]νίων etc.<sup>1</sup> A few improvements of the editor's reading and punctuation may help clarify the text. Below in the left column I reprint Youtie's text and on the right the text I suggest, with due regard for good sense:<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Translation of lines 10-14 as in *ed.princ.*: "For I knew that it is impossible for you as a linen-weaver to foist ... on me, since when the avaricious stay at a distance, there is slight discord among the linen-weavers." The *ed.princ.* comments: "In lines 8-9 Ammonianus urges Moros to send on the linen cloth. The approach to lines 10ff. is much simplified if we assume that Ammonianus had already received from Moros a shipment of material of inferior quality or of a kind not desired. Lines 10-12 then become a gracious admission that Moros as a linen-weaver would not deliberately do such a thing, while they at the same time convey an unexpressed reprimand and warning. The words that follow in 12-3 (ὡς ὅπου οἱ κόρακες ... ἐκτίν) have the ring of a proverb, but we have turned up nothing comparable. The κόραξ, an omnivorous scavenger, is almost certainly used here metaphorically for a greedy and avaricious person."

<sup>2</sup> This article developed during my work on the Michigan published papyri for the APIS project. The image of the papyrus can be found on the APIS web site at the University of Michigan (<http://images.umd.umich.edu/cgi/i/image/image-idx?c=apis&page=search>), by searching for inv. 6657. I would like to thank

10	ἴδην γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν σε οὐ[ ]αι . . . ὄν ὑπεβάλαται μοι λινούφ[ον]	ἴδην γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν σε ὀχλ[ῆς]αι ὄν ὑπεβάλαται μοι λινούφ[ον],
12	ὄντα, ὡς ὅπου οἱ κόρακες ἀ[πέ-] χονται ἔρις ἐπάνις ἐστὶν τ[ῶν]	ὄντα ὡς ὅπου οἱ κόρακες ἀ[πέρ-] χονται. Ἐρεῖς "ἐπάνις ἐστὶν τ[ῶν]
14	λινούφων".	λινούφων".
	10 l. ἦδεν	11 l. ὑπεβάλατε
	13 l. ἐρεῖς	

In l. 11 the uncertain letter *sigma* of ὑπεβάλαται should be removed, because that trace is simply the left loop of the horizontal stroke of *tau*. Therefore, the verb is ὑπεβάλαται (=ὑπεβάλατε), "suggest" (see *LSJ s.v.* 3).

In l. 13 ἔρις should be taken not as "discord", but as the second singular future of the verb λέγω (ἐρεῖς = ἐρεῖς). This iotacistic form of ἐρεῖς is not uncommon in the papyri; a search in DDBDP provides about ten instances. The verb λέγειν itself (apart from its construction with an indirect object in the dative or with a noun-clause) can be followed by a phrase in direct speech; cf. for example *P.Bad.* II 25.10 and *SB XVI* 12594.8.

ἐπάνις (l. 12) is found very often in papyri of the Graeco-Roman period and refers to the lack of food or materials. However, this text records the first instance to refer to people.

An attempt to read the word at the end of line 10, where we expect an infinitive, produced ὀχλ[ῆς]αι; one can see the upper part of *chi* and the beginning of *lambda*. At the end of the line *alpha* and *iota* are written without any other letter following them.

Finally, the verb in lines 12-3, which ends in χονται, could be the third plural of the present tense of ἔρχομαι, ἔχομαι, οἶχομαι, εὖχομαι, in compound form with a preposition beginning with α-, thus ἀνά-, ἀπό-.<sup>3</sup>

The relative ὅπου (l. 12) suggests that the verb should denote a motion towards an indefinite place. There is no such parallel in the

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Traianos Gagos for granting permission to reprint part of the image of the papyrus here.

<sup>3</sup> The reading can produce the following combinations: ἀπέρχονται, ἀποίχονται, ἀνέρχονται, ἀνέχονται, ἀπέχονται, ἀπεύχονται, ἀνεύχονται.

classical *paroemiographi*<sup>4</sup> concerning crows, ravens or vultures.<sup>5</sup> The combination of ὅπου and κόρακες is attested only in Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. ἐς κόρακας, where the entry reads: ὅπου ἂν λευκοὶ κόρακες ὀφθῶσιν, ἐκεῖ κατοικεῖν. And the only combination of a verb ending in -χονται and ravens is in the phrase ἀπελθε ἐς κόρακας, found only in Cassius Dio, *Hist. Rom.* 66.11.3 (cf. also Constantinus Porph., *De sententiis* 255).<sup>6</sup> Having checked the classical, Byzantine and modern Greek, Latin and Egyptian (Arabic) proverbs (see the forthcoming article by N. Litinas and J. Foufopoulos in *BASP* 42) it seems that there is no exact parallel in which ravens are the subject of the verbs described in footnote 3. Therefore, one could think that it is a phrase unattested so far or a maxim based on the phrase ἀπελθε ἐς κόρακας.

The verb ἀπέρχεσθαι, used for denoting the departure from one place and the arrival to another, seems to give a better sense here than other possible verbs. There is only one parallel where the ravens ἀπέρχονται in Ioannes Tzetzes, *Chil.* 6. 81 (story of Noah) ὁ κόραξ ἀπελθὼν οὐχ ὑπεστράφη πάλιν, ἐτρέφετο δὲ πτώμασι πολλῶν διαφθαρέντων. In the case of the papyrus, the proverbial phrase could be used to characterize a person who gets lost in places where the crows live, usually the desert.

Thus, the entire text could be translated as "because I knew that it is not possible for you to bother the weaver, whom you suggested to me, who is like 'wherever the ravens fly'. (Of course), you will say: 'there is a lack of weavers.'" The writer says that since Moros had suggested the certain linen-weaver, now it would be difficult to bother or press him. Ammonianus attributes a characteristic of the ravens to this linen-weaver, namely that he probably disappears and gets lost (?). And finally he adds his after-thought that he expects Moros to say that there is lack of linen-weavers and so it is not so easy to find others.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Corpus paroemiographorum graecorum* (Göttingen 1839-51).

<sup>5</sup> For the identification of the bird κόραξ, see the forthcoming article by N. Litinas and J. Foufopoulos.

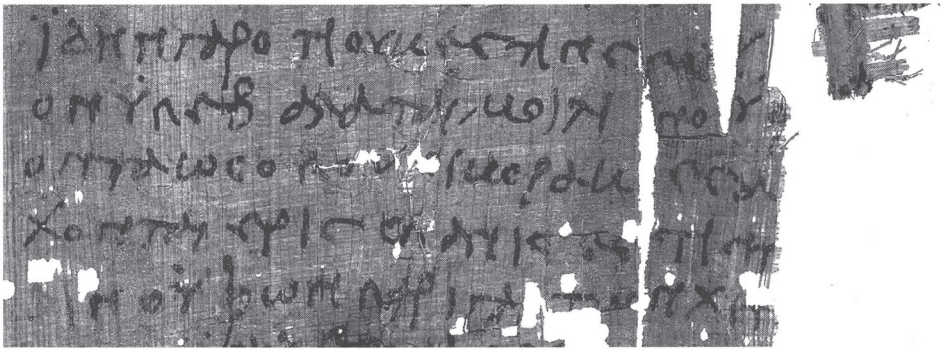
<sup>6</sup> Usually the phrase ἔρρ' ἐς κόρακας is used as a strengthened expression; see P.T. Stevens, *Colloquial Expressions in Euripides* (Wiesbaden 1976) 12-3. Cf. also the verb οἰχέσθω in Nicetas Choniates, *Orationes* 8.84 ἐς κόρακας οἰχέσθω κοὶ τὰ γραφέντα.



Linen-weavers are attested well throughout Graeco-Roman Egypt, esp. Panopolis, and the papyri provide good evidence regarding their guilds and organisation; see B.C. McGing, "Lease of a Linen-weaving Workshop in Panopolis," *ZPE* 82 (1990) 115-21, esp. 1-3n. Thus, it is not surprising to find comments on their number or the quality of their work in private documents, and especially private letters. The present story is such an example. Unfortunately, there is no indication of the place where Moros or Ammonianos live.

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P.Mich. inv. 6657 (detail)

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## Annotations on Demosthenes 23.103 (*In Aristocratem*)\* (Plate 8)

### ABSTRACT

Transcription and discussion of three previously unread marginal annotations in a 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. papyrus roll of unknown provenance (P. Mich. inv. 0.2). The notes are a subsequent addition. They employ the sort of abbreviations common in literary papyri and include the longest surviving comment in an ancient text of Demosthenes (nine short lines). Their purpose is to facilitate reading: no new information is supplied. Parallels with scholia are lacking.

P.Mich. inv 0.2

7 cm x 3 cm

III A.D.

Plate 8

Provenance unknown

This Michigan papyrus, first published in 1988, contains, in addition to Dem. 23.103-4, three marginalia on section 103 that were partially transcribed in the first edition.<sup>1</sup> With the gracious agreement of the first editor, I present here a reading of these notes. The speech they elucidate is written, like many ancient rhetorical texts, in narrow columns ten or eleven letters in width. The script of the main text is an elegant version of the "mixed capitals" of the Roman period; the original editor assigns the hand to the third century. The marginalia are written close together between two fragmentary columns of text in a tiny, irregular, confident cursive. Probably co-

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\* I am grateful to an anonymous reader for *BASP* and to Ann Hanson, who introduced many improvements.

<sup>1</sup> "Demosthenes Κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους 103-104," G. Schwendner, *Literary and Non-Literary Papyri from the University of Michigan Collection* (diss. Univ. Michigan 1988) 15-8 (= *LDAB* 719, *MP*<sup>3</sup> 313.01). Schwendner's transcript of the notes is provided in the apparatus criticus, below.

pyist and annotator were different people, given the professional and calligraphic execution of the main text and the quick, scrappy script of the marginalia. They are a subsequent addition. As usual, the notes are written at the right of the column that contains the passages they explain. The annotator's abbreviations are like those encountered in subliterate texts and marginal notes. Some, all in Note 3, utilize standard abbreviation marks: δ' for δε, ιχυρ' for ι-χυρων, and επεν' for επιναι (perhaps: see below on Note 3, line 8). More commonly, the scribe indicates omission by writing the last letter retained in the suprascript position. Thus βασι<sup>λ</sup> represents βασιλεας (note 1); κερco<sup>β</sup> indicates κερcoβλεπτην (note 2); and, in note 3, βασι<sup>λ</sup> stands for βασιλεων, τη for της, θρακ<sup>η</sup> for θρακης, γενομεν<sup>ω</sup> for γενομενων, κερcoβλεπ<sup>τ</sup> for κερcoβλεπτης (perhaps), τ<sup>ο</sup> for του, and χαιρηδ<sup>η</sup> for χαιρηδημου.<sup>2</sup>

The marginalia in the Michigan papyrus have no affinity with the contents of the only other ancient fragment of exegesis on *In Aristocratem*, a fourth- or fifth-century codex preserving part of a lexicon on the speech.<sup>3</sup> The entries of that lexicon, as far as they go, are both detailed and learned. Its author cites or quotes extensively from a long line of authorities that includes Ephorus, Aristotle, Theopompus, Anaximenes, and Philochorus. He also names Didymus, the Alexandrian commentator of the Augustan age from whose work the lexicon must ultimately derive ("ancient philological and historical scholarship on Demosthenes apparently regarded Didymus as a 'must consult' source"<sup>4</sup>). The historical and philological learning in this late lexicon is characteristic also of the other ancient commentaries and lexica on Demosthenes. None of this scholarship is evident in the annotations of the Michigan papyrus,

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<sup>2</sup> K. McNamee, *Abbreviations in Greek Literary Papyri and Ostraca* (Chico 1981) xi-xii.

<sup>3</sup> MP<sup>3</sup> 317 (= LDAB 749) (fourth or fifth cent.) an alphabetic lexicon on Dem. 23; see now C. Gibson, *Interpreting a Classic: Demosthenes and his Ancient Commentaries* (Berkeley 2002) 157-71. The provisional identification of P.Yale inv. 1534 as a hypomnema on Dem. 23 has been seriously undermined by Susan Stephens, *P.Yale* II 106 (= MP<sup>3</sup> 311, third cent.).

<sup>4</sup> Gibson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) 34.

however. Nor is there any trace here of the kind of rhetorical discussion one finds in the later scholia.

In the Michigan text, the marginalia simply explain references that are potentially confusing, or else they restate, in simple terms, Demosthenes' more artfully worded argument. No information appears that is not already deducible from the speech itself. Clearly the purpose of the notes was to facilitate reading, nothing more. In this regard, they resemble the spotty marginalia in four other ancient Demosthenic texts, although the Michigan notes have one small distinction. They are more numerous and include one that is much longer than those surviving in other papyri. All three are written here in the space of only five or six centimeters, measured vertically; each of the other four ancient annotated manuscripts of Demosthenes contains only a single note. The third annotation in the Michigan text, moreover, is nine lines long, which makes it the longest surviving ancient marginal comment on Demosthenes by far. Notes in the other four texts rarely extend beyond a couple of words.

Understanding the marginal commentary of this papyrus requires a little historical background. Demosthenes argues in this speech against Aristocrates' proposal to grant special, personal protection to the mercenary commander Chairedemos (23.16). This Chairedemos, an Athenian citizen, has been active in a three-way competition for control of the Chersonese. At the time of the speech, he is a mercenary commander for the king Kersobleptes, whose two rivals in that region also have Athenians in their service. Demosthenes objects on three grounds to singling out Chairedemos as Aristocrates proposes: the motion is illegal, it is harmful to Athens, and Chairedemos is undeserving (23.18).

The annotated portion of the papyrus comes near the beginning of the second of these "movements," where the speaker amplifies points he made earlier (23.8-15): that a divided Thrace is in the best interest of Athens, but that the present resolution threatens to put an end to the fractious competition among Thracian kings by strengthening the hand of one of them, Kersobleptes. This would come about because, as Demosthenes charges, honors such as Aristocrates proposes would threaten the Athenians who support the

rivals of Kersobleptes and induce them to withdraw their support. Their withdrawal would open the way for Kersobleptes to assert sole control over the Chersonese. It is this skewing of the balance of power that all three surviving marginalia deal with. Although they supply no new insight into Athenian or Thracian politics, they are useful as a crib for a reader who wants to get the players and the issues straight. The three notes address, specifically, only nine words of section 103 (emboldened in what follows), but I reproduce the passage leading up to them, for the sake of intelligibility:

## 23.103

τοῦτο τοίνυν νομίζετε ταῦτό καὶ τοῖς Χερρόνηςον οἰκοῦσι  
τῶν πολιτῶν συμφέρειν, μηδέν' εἶναι τῶν Θρακῶν ἰσχυρόν·  
ἡ γὰρ ἐκείνων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ταραχὴ καὶ ὑποψία φρουρὰ  
Χερρονήσου μεγίστη τῶν πασῶν ἐστὶν καὶ βεβαιότατη. τὸ  
τοίνυν ψήφισμα τουτὶ τῷ μὲν ἡγουμένῳ τῶν Κερσοβλέπτου  
πραγμάτων ἀσφάλειαν δίδόν, τοῖς δὲ τῶν ἐτέρων βασιλέων  
στρατηγοῖς φόβον καὶ δέος μή τιν' αἰτίαν ἔχωσι παριστάν,  
τούς μὲν ἀσθενεῖς, τὸν δ' ἐν' ὄντ' ἰσχυρόν καθίστησιν.

You must, then, take the view that for those of our fellow-citizens who live in the Chersonese the same condition is advantageous, that is, that no one man shall be all-powerful among the Thracians. In fact the quarrels of the Thracians, and their jealousy of one another, afford the best and most trustworthy guarantee of the safety of the Chersonese. Now the decree before us, by offering security to the minister who controls the affairs of Kersobleptes, and by putting the commanders of the other kings in imminent fear of being accused of crime, **makes those kings weak, and the king who stands by himself strong.** (tr. J.H. Vince [Cambridge, Mass. 1935])

Marginalia on Dem. 23.103

Note 1, referring to «τὸς μὲν | ἀσθενεῖς» (P.Mich. i.14-5)

τοῦτετερου

βασι<sup>λ</sup>

τοὺς ἑτέρους

βασιλ(έας)

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So Schwendner

"The other kings," a note clarifying the reference of ἀσθενεῖς as the Thracian kings themselves, not their commanders. Confusion was possible because of the juxtaposition of the two groups in the preceding clause.

Note 2, referring to «τὸν | δ' ἕνα ὄντα ἰ|ςχυρὸν» (P.Mich. i.15-7)

τονκερο<sup>β</sup>ω

τονενα

τὸν Κερσοβ(λέπτην) ὡς

τὸν ἕνα

---

τον Κερσοβ' (λεπτον) ω . | τω . . . . . (vac.) Schwendner

2 τονενα: a slanting descender connects the top of the first ν with the bottom of the first upward stroke of ε. For the epsilon written here, cf. Note 3 line 4, -μενων, κερσο-.

"Kersobleptes as the one (strong king, i.e.)," a note explaining the reference of ἕνα, to prevent confusion.

Note 3, referring to the same passage

τωντεπα . . ων

βασι<sup>λ</sup> τ<sup>η</sup> θρακ<sup>η</sup>

τῶν τε πάντων

βασιλ(έων) τῇ(ς) Θράκη(ς)

	ιςχυρ' γενο	ιςχυρ(ων) γενο-
	μεν <sup>ω</sup> κερσο	μένω(ν) Κερσο-
5	βλεπ[ ]η . . . . .	βλέπ[τ]ης . . . .
	εν[ ]ρακηι	έν [Θ]ράκηι
	ουδ' δυνάται	ούδ(ε) δύναται
	επ' [ ]τ <sup>ο</sup> χαίρηδ <sup>η</sup>	έπ(ι)[έ]γ(αι) το(ῦ) Χαίρηδ <sup>η</sup> (μου)
	ερχομεν . .	έρχομενου.

βασιλ' ( ) γραφη ( ) | . . . . . | λα .ς Κερσο|βλεπτος εις( ) | . . . [ ] . .  
 . . . . . | ε [ ] . . | χ , μα Schwendner

1 πα .ων: π followed by the loop of α, then two letters lost in abrasion and a lacuna, then ων

3 ιςχυρ': The tops of these letters are in lacuna. The first, fourth, and fifth have long, straight, fairly vertical descenders which are consonant, respectively, with the shape of this scribe's ι (Note 1 line 2, Note 3 line 2), υ (Note 1 line 1, Note 3 line 7), and ρ (Note 1 line 1, Note 2 line 1, Note 3 lines 2, 4, 8). The third letter, like those three, also descends well below the line but at an angle from right to left as it moves downward (cf. the χ at Note 3 lines 8, 9). What remains of the second letter is a short, straight, vertical line that has the same shape as the left side of sigma in κερσοβ- and ως in Note 2 line 1.

5 A tiny trace of ink suggests a suprascript after π; if real, this would produce Κερσο|βλέπτ(ης), but see below. At the right is a lacuna large enough for one or two letters.

Emerging from the lacuna, in the lower half of the writing space, is a curved line with the convex portion facing right, difficult to interpret. It might be taken for a c and read as the last letter of κερσο|βλεπ[τη]c, if the name was not abbreviated; but none of the scribe's other sigmas are written this way, and it is difficult to see how τη could be squeezed into the lacuna. Alternatively, the curve may be the final stroke of λ, a bit more curved than that of the λ at the beginning of this line in -βλεπ-. Alpha, of the kind found in θρακ- (line 2 of this note) is also possible, but perhaps the best choice is η, of the kind found in line 2, τη(c) θρακη(c). The following letter might be read as c. In that case, read κερσο|βλεπ[τ]ης.

But after the supposed η, the reading is very uncertain. The central part of most of the following letters is lost in lacuna. At the start of what survives is a short, straight line slightly tilted from bottom left to top right, with a curved saddle descending from its top and then rising to the right. At the



bottom of the saddle is a blob of ink. The letter might be  $\nu$ ,  $\mu$ , or  $\epsilon$  (of the type seen at  $-\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi-$  in this line or  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\varsigma-$  in Note 2 line 1). If it is  $\nu$ , the scribe made a loop at the bottom of the diagonal stroke before starting the second upright. If it is  $\mu$ , the second descender is truncated. If it is  $\epsilon$ , an  $\iota$  is attached to it by ligature.

Next, above the lacuna, is a short, slanted stroke moving upward to the right and possibly curving slightly to the right. Below the lacuna, a blob that may be a very short curve, concave side upward, directly below the upper stroke. Possibly the upper stroke represents an abbreviation mark—if the previous letter is  $\mu$  or  $\nu$ , this could produce  $\mu(\acute{\epsilon}\nu)$  or  $\nu(\acute{\upsilon}\nu)$ . If so, then the lower stroke must be the initial stroke of the next letter, also interrupted by the lacuna. The marks above and below the lacuna may belong to the same letter, however:  $\epsilon$ , perhaps, but if so the strokes do not fit any of the scribe's many other renditions of  $\epsilon$ . I have also considered  $\xi$ , but there is no other sample of the writer's  $\xi$ .

At the right of this is a short diagonal line just below the lacuna, possibly forked at the top. It may be part of the diagonal stroke that emerges at the top of the lacuna. If this is to be seen as one, unforked, stroke, it may be the standard abbreviation for  $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\iota}$ . The presence, however, of a horizontal stroke attached a little above the halfway point of the upper part of the line is against this. If the horizontal is the sign of an abbreviation, it would depend for meaning on a letter or letters preceding it, not on a symbol. Another possibility is that the horizontal and the diagonal above the lacuna form a composite abbreviation mark. Another alternative is that the diagonal strokes above and below the lacuna are the first and third strokes of  $\nu$ , and the horizontal an abbreviation mark following it, giving, for example,  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\varsigma\omega|\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi[\tau]\eta\varsigma$  (unabbreviated)  $\mu\epsilon\nu(\epsilon\bar{\iota})$  or  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu(\epsilon\iota)$ . I have also considered  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\varsigma\omega|\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\eta\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma\tau(\alpha\iota)$  and  $\beta\lambda\epsilon\pi^{\tau}\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi^{\epsilon}$ , i.e.,  $\kappa\epsilon\rho\varsigma\omega|\beta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau(\eta\varsigma)$   $\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon(\tau\alpha\iota)$ , but none of these solutions is completely satisfactory.

**6**  $\eta\rho\alpha\kappa\eta\iota$ : After the lacuna, a letter rubbed off, followed by a stroke that rises in a slope to a peak and then descends sharply. Thereafter, a  $\kappa$  which is a broader version of the one in line 4. This is followed by a stroke curving up, over, and down, and then a long vertical stroke at its right and possibly connected to it at the top, where there is a lacuna.

**7**  $\omicron\upsilon\delta'$ : After  $\omicron\upsilon$ , about the middle of the writing space, a short line descending, turning to the right at a right angle, and continuing about the same distance:  $\delta$ ? At the upper right, an abbreviation mark. With the supposed  $\delta$ , this produces the standard abbreviation for  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ .

**8**  $\epsilon\pi'[\_]\gamma'$ : After  $\epsilon$ , the presumed  $\pi$  resembles an inverted V, more or less like the  $\pi$  in Note 3 line 1. Above to its right is either an abbreviation mark or a subsequently added  $\iota$ . The former suits the traces better, but the latter is more appealing, since the expected abbreviation for  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\iota}$  is  $\epsilon'$ .

Ink before and after the lacuna, which is large enough for one letter: on the left, traces suggesting the beginning of ε, as at Note 1 line 1 or Note 3 line 9; afterward, a dot at the same level. Superscript, traces of what look like ν.

9 ερχομεν. The letters following χ are badly abraded but suit the letters suggested.

3-4 ἰσχυρ(ῶν) γενο|μένω(ν): Forms of ἰσχυρός appear twice in the Demosthenes passage, both times with forms of the verb 'to be' in the present tense (εἶναι, ὄντα). Since the annotator's choice of words barely strays from those used by Demosthenes, the aorist is not looked for. Presumably the shift in tense here reflects the point of view adopted by the annotator in his explanation, where he is focusing on the ultimate outcome of the ongoing debate. With his eye on Demosthenes' objective, the commentator explains that the safety of the Athenians from attack by Kersobleptes will only be assured *after* the balance of power among the Thracian kings has been assured. In this context, the aorist γενομένων is preferable to ὄντων.

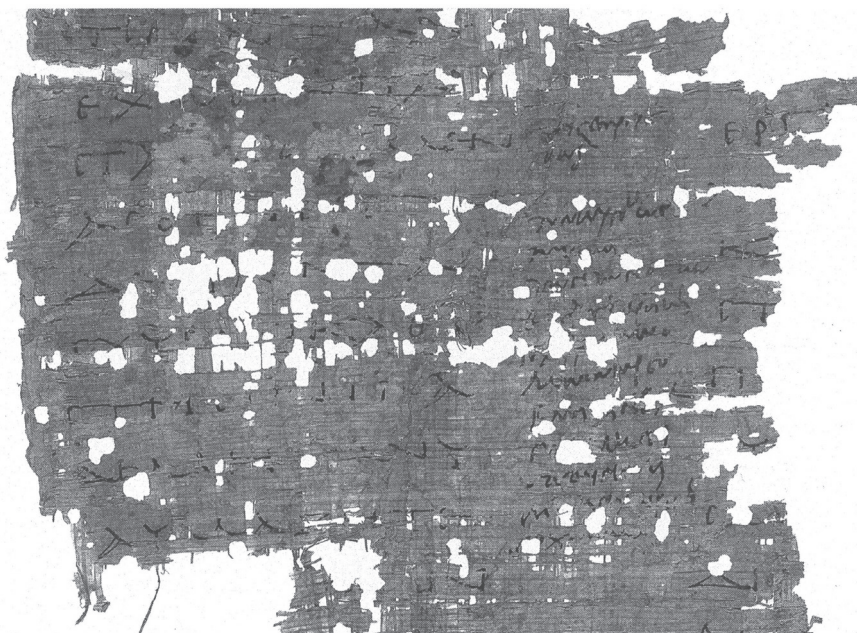
7 οὐδὲ linking two clauses, the second of which is not in an adversarial relation to the first, is rare in Attic Greek. It is occasionally found in later Greek, cf. *sch. vet.* Hom. *Il.* 1.1, 1.53-5, 11.1, 17.366.

"And when all the kings of Thrace have become strong, Kersobleptes is (will be?) left(?) in Thrace; and he is not able to attack if Chairedemos comes," i.e., even if Chairedemos comes to help him: a note indicating the beneficial outcome of defeating Aristocrates' proposal and intimating the dire consequences should it succeed.

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**Plate 8    (to McNamee, "Annotations on Demosthenes ...")**



P.Mich. inv. 0.2 (detail)

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Papyrology Collection, The University of Michigan Library.)

## κριθολογία and κριθολογηθῆναι\*

### ABSTRACT

A summary of my conclusions on the meaning of κριθολογία is presented on the face page below. Having observed the term in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2021 and its definition in LSJ<sup>9</sup>, I recalled my treatment of κριθόπυρον in Ptolemaic documents (*ZPE* 141 [2002] 210-3) and concluded that there was no difference between the two terms; namely, that *cītoc*/πυρόc in Egypt was a deliberate mixture of wheat and barely, and that in order to produce Egyptian wheat that was considered "pure wheat," barley and other contaminants in it had to be eliminated. Egyptians apparently coined the word κριθολογία to describe that process. κριθολογία also took on a concrete collective meaning of a "shipment(s) or cargo(es) of pure wheat" as in *Theodosian Code* 14.26.1.

The noun κριθολογία appears twice in published papyri and ostraca: *P.Oxy.* XVI 2021.3 (VI/VII A.D.) and *O.Theb.* 113.2 (II-III A.D.).<sup>1</sup> It is written with the variant spelling κριθηλ- in another papyrus, *P.Iand.* VIII 150 verso, II.8 (III A.D.). The infinitive κριθολογηθῆναι occurs in two papyri, *P.Oxy.* IV 708.6 (188 A.D.) and *P.Petaus* 53.11 (184/5 A.D.). The Latin spelling of the noun, *crithologia*, appears in *Theodosian Code* 14.26.1 (412 A.D.). The Greek noun is also used in three unpublished Michigan papyri which will be examined later in this paper in an attempt to shed further light on the range of meaning.

Both the noun and the verb are generally understood as referring to the process of ensuring that shipments of wheat declared to be καθαρόc (i.e., "all wheat") were free of barley and other foreign substances. Despite its limited appearance, the noun κριθολογία has occasioned a certain amount of comment; much of this was

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\* I wish to thank the editor of *BASP* who coalesced my two articles on the subject into one and made it, as the saying goes, *erweitert und verbessert*.

<sup>1</sup> An alternative reading of *O.Theb.* 113.2 as ὑπ(ἐρ) κριθ(ῆς) ἀντὶ γρά(στεως) in place of the ὑπ(ἐρ) κριθηλογί(ας) Νή(ων) of the *ed.pr.* has been proposed (cf. *BL* II.1, p. 40) and was accepted by H. Cadell (cf. below), p. 1283.

summarized by H. Cadell in her 1983 article "Sur un hapax grec connu par le *Code Théodosien*."<sup>2</sup> In her conclusion she recommended an addendum to *LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, in the 1968 *Supplement* to which the editors had proposed a translation for the entry κριθολογία as "collection of the tax on barley." Her treatment of the term as referring to the collection of a "une taxe" to compensate for the lack of purity of wheat shipped as tax-grain (see further below) apparently influenced the editors of the 1996 *Revised Supplement to LSJ*<sup>9</sup>, where the entry now reads as follows: "κριθολογία, ἡ, tax paid in compensation for adulteration of barley, *P.Oxy.* 2021.3 (VI-VII A.D.); also, κριθολογία, *Theb. Ostr.* 113 (II/III A.D.), *P.Iand.* 150 (III A.D.)." The present paper arose from the need to take issue with the view that the terms κριθολογία and κριθολογοῦσθαι in these few documents refer to "taxes" or that they are specifically related to a "tax paid in compensation for adulteration of barley." P. Sijpesteijn, in his 1994 article "What Happened to Tax-Grain upon Arrival at Alexandria," states that "the correct interpretation of the words κριθολογέω and κριθολογία can be found in H. Cadell's article."<sup>3</sup> Cadell's and Sijpesteijn's conclusions will be discussed further below. It should be noted that the interpretation of κριθολογία as referring to an actual tax seems to derive from the translation of the word by the editor of *P.Iand.* VIII 150 verso, II.8 as "Einsammlung der Gerstensteuer."<sup>4</sup> This was corrected by K.F.W. Schmidt (cf. *BL* III, p. 90) to "Abgabe für Aussonderung von Gerste." As will be seen below, Schmidt was much closer to the truth.

The noun κριθολογία is clearly related to the verb κριθολογέω, which would mean literally "to collect or gather barley" and of which κριθολογεῖσθαι is a form.<sup>5</sup> In the case of κριθολογέω, it is interesting to note that its translation in the entry in the 1996 *Re-*

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<sup>2</sup> *Atti XVII Congr. Intern. Pap.* (Naples 1983) 1279-85.

<sup>3</sup> *CdÉ* 69 (1994) 132-7; see in particular 133 n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> The line note refers to *WO* I, p. 270, where however Wilcken, who discusses nouns in -λογία carrying the sense of "collection," does not seem to imply that κριθολογία is necessarily a tax.

<sup>5</sup> For a congener that is employed to refer to collecting barley in a more literal sense, we may compare Plutarch's use of the term κριθολόγος, a priest who keeps barley that is to be used for sacred purposes, in *Moralia* 2.292c.

*vised Supplement to LSJ*<sup>9</sup> is "check (consignments of) grain for purity," while the corresponding entry for κριθολογία refers to a tax.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, κριθολογία and κριθολογηθῆναι are used not to describe simply reaping barley or gathering it from the threshing floor, but to refer to the operation of separating wheat and barley from one another so as to guarantee that the wheat, the favored grain of Egypt designated for the *embole*, was free of undesirable barley. This operation involves a screening, collecting, and removal process similar to that described by the word βωλολογοθῆναι (this term is in fact paired with κριθολογηθῆναι in *P.Oxy.* IV 708.7), through which dirt as an adulterating element is to be removed from wheat. As such, κριθολογηθῆναι suggests a process, not a tax.

This process can be best seen in the aforementioned *P.Oxy.* IV 708, as reedited by Wilcken (*WChr* 432), dated to 188 A.D. Antonius Aelianus, an examining official at a port near Alexandria, found that the δείγματα of two shipments (γόμει) of wheat from Diospolis, which presumably had been declared καθαροί on their bills of lading, were contaminated by amounts of barley and dirt, resulting in the shipments being declared οὐ καθαροί. In the best-preserved portion of the papyrus, lines 1-14, the official, after weighing the δείγματα that represented a shipment of 2000 artabas of wheat and judging them to be οὐ καθαρὰ, ordered half an artaba of wheat to be screened for substances other than wheat and found it short by 2% barley and 1/2% dirt: [ἐν τῇ] τ[ῶ]ν δειγμάτων ἄρχει οὐ καθαροῦ φανέντος [ἐκ]έλευσα ἡμιαρτάβιον κριθολογηθῆναι [καὶ] βωλολογοθῆναι, καὶ ἐξέβη ἐλασσον [κρι]θῆς μὲν [(ἀρτάβαι)] ἑκατοστὰι δύο βώλου δὲ ὁμοί[ω]ς ἐκατοστῆς ἡμισυ (ll. 5-9; cf. 18-20). He then wrote to the strategus of the Diospolite nome ordering the sitologi who had shipped the wheat to make up the measurable difference, i.e. 2.5% of the 2000 artabas, plus the 1/2 artaba used for the screening and 1/4 artaba for spillage, for a total extra amount of 50 3/4 artabas.

In her previously mentioned study, H. Cadell interprets the assessment of 50 3/4 artabas consequent upon the discovery of 2% barley and 1/2% dirt in the half artaba, as (p.1283) "le prélèvement

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *WChr* 432, introduction (discussing *P.Oxy.* IV 708), where κριθολογεῖν is translated as "die Gerste heraussuchen aus dem Weizen." *WB* gives "die Gerste aus dem Weizen aussondern."

d'une taxe compensatoire." However, the action that the examining official took was not to assess a compensating tax, but to make up for the shortfall in weight of wheat, as revealed by the examination of the δείγματα, by prorating the 2 1/2% test result to apply to the entire shipment of 2000 artabas. In other words, the shipment of 2000 plus 50 3/4 artabas as a whole was not ordered to be screened anew by κριθολογία for the offending substances but, seemingly, was to be shipped to Rome in the literal state of being οὐ καθαρός. This action by Antonius Aelianus raises several questions as to the degree of purity meant in practice by the word καθαρός and as to the purity of this particular shipment when it was dispatched to Rome. Apparently Aelianus took action not so much to guarantee "la pureté absolue du grain destiné à Rome," as Cadell puts it (p. 1283), but to make sure that the weight of the shipment of 2000 artabas would not be challenged by the *mensores frumentarii*.<sup>7</sup>

To turn to a much later and a different type of document, *P.Oxy.* XVI 2021 descriptum, unlike 708, contains in lines 1-6 an account of λήμματα of grain for the *embole* from the village of Takona, where grain was assembled for shipment. An entry for 10,010 artabas of κύτου καθαρῷ (lines 1-2) is followed by three payments: 925 artabas ὑπὲρ κριθολογίας (line 3); 50 artabas ὑπὲρ τοῦ μειζοτέρου (line 4); 92 artabas ὑπὲρ τοῦ citoμέτρου (line 5). A total of 11,077—the sum of all four amounts—is then given (line 6) in terms of κύτου ῥυπαρ(οῦ) κ(α)γκέλλω (ἀρτάβαι).

This part of the document may be viewed as a simple account of deductions from a total number of κάγκελλον artabas of κύτου ῥυπαροῦ ("uncleansed grain"), resulting in a figure of 10,010 artabas of wheat certified to be καθαρός. Such a state of cleanliness was accomplished by κριθολογία, the process of eliminating barley and other foreign material from wheat, most likely by sieving. Screening 11,077 artabas for barley is no small undertaking, which must have occupied a considerable number of people over a period of time. The charge for κριθολογία was 925 artabas, or 8.55% of the total, perhaps in the form of barley which had been screened out of

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<sup>7</sup> See the extended discussion in my article "*P.Oxy.* IV 708: Δείγματα Found to Be οὐ καθαρὰ and Their Implications," *BASP* 39 (2002) 111-7.

the uncleansed wheat.<sup>8</sup> In addition there were charges of 50 artabas for the μειζότερος, possibly a local official or a ranking sitologus, and 92 for the grain measurer. These charges of 1,067 artabas represent 9.6% of the total 11,077. It seems likely that the entire 11,077 artabas were screened for barley. It is possible that all the people involved in the process of κριθολογία were paid in barley.

From Cadell's perspective (p. 1284), κριθολογία at Takona was no different from that described in *P.Oxy.* 708, in which δείγματα were examined by an official, and when found deficient by 2.5% were subject to an assessed compensatory amount. Cadell views the 925 artabas of *P.Oxy.* 2021 as "un supplément special de versement estimé ici aux alentours de 9%." In this instance, however, there was no supplementary payment or tax since the document simply records (line 3) the cost, expressed in artabas, entailed in collecting and removing barley from the wheat.

*P.Oxy.* 2021, as seen above, describes the later part of the process of preparing a shipment of wheat for the *embole* and summarizes the costs of cleansing the grain of barley and other foreign substances. The document offers no indication as to a tax. *P.Petaus* 53, on the other hand, represents the beginning of that same process of preparing the grain in the village. Dated to 184/5, it is a letter by the komogrammateus of Ptolemais Hormou to the strategus of Arsinoite Heracleides providing the names of individuals who would be obliged to perform compulsory public service (λειτουργία) involving a whole series of tasks and oversight responsibilities from the harvest to the delivery of wheat at Alexandria for the *embole*. One of them (lines 10-11) called for liturgists "to make provision for the collection and removal of barley from the wheat" (καὶ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ κριθολογῆναι τὸν πυρόν). Whether or not κριθολογία was regarded as a separate liturgy, it is in this case viewed as only one small part of a multiphase operation.<sup>9</sup>

In *P.Iand.* VIII 150v.2.8, assigned to the third century A.D. and unprovenanced, κριθολογ[ί]ας [sic] appears as an item in a list of

<sup>8</sup> Note the analogy in *O.Theb.* 113 (II-III A.D.; cf. above), a receipt for 5/12 of an artaba of barley which a man received ὑπὲρ κριθολογί(ας). For a possible alternative reading of this line, see n. 1 above.

<sup>9</sup> See also the discussion of *P.Petaus* 53 in Sijpesteijn's article, pp. 135-6., as well as Cadell, p. 1282.



expenses that are mixed but that hint at travel or transportation—perhaps it is transportation of grain—by water.<sup>10</sup> A Nikopolis (the suburb of Alexandria associated with public granaries?) seems to be mentioned. The amount paid for κριθηλογία is not preserved; the surviving figures for other items in the list are in drachmas. Finally, the ostrakon *O.Theb.* 113 (II-III A.D.) is a receipt for 5/12 of an artaba of barley which a man received ὑπ(ἐρ) κριθολογι(ας). It is most likely that the barley he received came from his work screening out barley that had become mixed in with wheat.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, to judge from the published evidence of the papyri the cognates κριθολογία and κριθολογοθῆναι are not used in any sense to refer to a "tax" or to "collection of the tax on barley." In the published Egyptian documents they have a more denotative meaning referring to the detection, collection, and removal of barley that may be mixed in with wheat. In effect the process, designed to ensure that shipments of wheat are "pure wheat" as defined by the term καθαρός, is very much like winnowing, but instead of taking place on the threshing floor, it would normally occur in the granary. Indeed κριθολογία could take place at any stage in the preparation of shipments of wheat for the *embole* and of the δειγµατα that accompany them. If shipments were found deficient in any respect by examining officials, as we have observed in the case of *P.Oxy.* 708, an assessment was exacted only in so far as to make up for the deficit created by the adulterating substances.

One obvious explanation for the apparently common mixture of barley with wheat is that crops of the two grains shared the same threshing floor, and since barley ripened earlier than wheat, a residue of barley grains might have remained on the floor during the threshing of wheat and been gathered up when the wheat was winnowed. Contamination was also possible if the two grains were stored in close proximity to one another in a granary. One not so obvious explanation is the possibility that maslins (i.e. mixtures) of wheat and barley were sown—not necessarily in equal proportions—and that the two were threshed at the same time, thereby

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<sup>10</sup> The editor's introduction speaks of "Die Vermutung . . . dass der Schreiber eine Fracht, vielleicht Steuerkorn . . . zu Wasser nach Alexandria . . . gesandt hat."

<sup>11</sup> See n. 8 above.

causing a high degree of admixture.<sup>12</sup> The heavy contamination in *P.Oxy.* 2021 of almost 10% barley might suggest that practice.

The unpublished papyri P. Mich. Inv. 4017, 4026, and 4028D (dated A.D. 366, 372, and before 367?, respectively), which are cited and briefly discussed by Sijpesteijn in his 1994 article, offer another insight into the usage of the noun κριθολογία in Roman Egypt. These latter texts view κριθολογία not from the point of view of the processes that took place in the local granary or at the hands of examining officials in Alexandria, but from that of the boatmen who were responsible for conveying cargoes of tax-grain. Sijpesteijn's article makes only brief reference to these three documents, which he was prevented from publishing because of his death. However, the article provides his interpretation of the meaning of κριθολογία as it applies to a boatman. In footnote 3 (p. 133), he states that "Michigan papyri inv. 4017, 4026, and 4028D are declarations to clean wheat, i.e. a person declares ὑποδεχθαι τὴν κριθολογίαν παρὰ τῶν ἐμβαλομένων κτητόρων (inv. 4026, 15-16; in his subscription to this text the person says, l. 24: καὶ ἔσχον τὴν κριθολογίαν ὡς πρόκειται)." Further on in the same note, after applying a broader sense to the word κριθολογία as meaning "cleaning of all unwanted things, cleaning totally," Sijpesteijn goes on to say "For that reason [the boatman] Aurelius Olympios, son of Pinuthios, who has undertaken the κριθολογία of 632 artabas of wheat can say, εἰ δὲ κίνησις τις γίνεται προφάσει κριθῶν ἢ ἄλλης ῥυπαρίας—ἐγὼ ὑπεύθυνος ἔσομαι (P. Mich. Inv. 4017, 14-17)." On page 136, Sijpesteijn again states that the three papyri "are declarations to have undertaken to clean wheat," adding that "P. Mich. Inv. 4026 is the declaration of [the boatman] Aurelius Elias, son of Thonios, towards six councilors of Oxyrhynchos in their capacity as ἐπιμεληταὶ αἵτου Ἀλεξανδρείας that he ὑποδεχθαι τὴν κριθολογίαν παρὰ τῶν ἐμβαλομένων κτητόρων."

If Mich. Inv. 4017, 4026, and 4028D are declarations of boatmen who convey tax-grain to Alexandria, what is the connection of these individuals with the process of cleaning wheat, as seems to be indicated by Sijpesteijn in his understanding of the phrases ἔσχον τὴν

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<sup>12</sup> See my article in *ZPE* 141 (2002) 210-3 and my forthcoming article, "Cίτος/πυρός in Egypt as deliberate mixtures of wheat and barley."

κριθολογίαν and ὑποδεδέχθαι τὴν κριθολογίαν? Further, what is the meaning of κριθολογία in these contexts? In order to clarify these questions I obtained copies of the draft of the edition of the three documents on which Sijpesteijn had been working prior to his death.<sup>13</sup> In the present state of this draft, 4026 and 4028D are each headed "Declaration to Clean Wheat," while 4017 is entitled "Declaration." 4028D is a fragment that has been restored in great part on the basis of 4017 and that may be a copy of 4017.

All three declarations are clearly contractual in nature. For example, the boatman Aurelius Elias of 4026, answerable to the councilors for his services, swears an imperial oath and states (ll. 15-6) that "I have accepted the κριθολογία from the (land)owners who have put it on board" (ὑποδεδέχθαι με τὴν κριθολογίαν παρὰ τῶν ἐμβαλομένων κτητόρων) together with other responsibilities which the boatman was to assume. In the subscription to his contract, the boatman declares that he has sworn the (imperial) oath and that "I have (on board) the κριθολογία as indicated above" (ἔσχον τὴν κριθολογίαν ὡς πρόκειται).

Sijpesteijn's apparent understanding of the meaning of these two citations is that in each instance the boatman has undertaken to remove the barley. To me it is evident that this translation misses the mark and should not be used when the document is published. In my view, the term κριθολογία in the context of 4026 refers concretely and collectively to a cargo of wheat that is καθαρός: one that has been cleaned of elements other than wheat by the process—as can be observed in *P.Oxy.* XVI 2021 discussed earlier—that is also called κριθολογία. What the landowners have put on board, and what the boatman attests to having (ἔσχον or ὑποδεδέχθαι με), is a cargo of καθαρός tax-grain that will pass the inspection by the examining officials at Alexandria, and for which the boatman will be given receipts indicating that he has fulfilled his contractual obligation to transport tax-grain as indicated in a bill of lading.

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<sup>13</sup> I wish to thank Professor Traianos Gagos of the University of Michigan papyrus collection for permitting me to see the drafts of 4017, 4026, and 4028D prior to their formal publication. I am restricting my comments on these three papyri to the use of κριθολογία in them.

P.Mich. inv. 4017, unlike 4026, gives a more detailed discussion. This document concerns a cargo of 632 artabas of tax-grain bound for the imperial granaries at Alexandria. What is compelling in the account is the use of the term κριθολογία three times, once to refer to the process of removing barley from wheat and twice as a collective indicating a "cargo" or "shipment" of 626 artabas of processed grain. Line 10 provides the common formula that the cargo consists of πυροῦ νέου καθαροῦ that is free of barley and unadulterated, and that it is exceptionally clean as a result of the process of κριθολογία: ἀλλὰ καθαροτάτου τυγχ[ά]ν[ον]τος καὶ δ[ιὰ κριθολογί]ας). In the subscription to the contract, however, the boatman, Aurelius Olympios, or his scribe, employs the identical language found in 4026 l. 19 : ἐ[κ]χον τὴν κριθολογίαν ὡς πρόκειται, "I have (on board) the κριθολογία as indicated above." On the verso of 4017 is a brief note: "Glued together (documents concerning) Alexandria for the month November, κριθολογία (= cargo or shipment of pure wheat)." Thus, declarations by boatmen can use κριθολογία to mean both the process of cleaning and the lot of grain that has undergone this process.<sup>14</sup>

Lastly, let us turn to the use of κριθολογία in its Latin form in *Theodosian Code* 14.26.1, a rescript addressed to the Praetorian Prefect Anthemius by the emperors Honorius and Theodosius on January 28, 412 A.D. The decree is aimed at confirming determinations by the Prefect regarding the regulation of shipments of tax-grain to Alexandria and regarding the protection of the property of boatmen. Its essence is contained in the first few, highly elliptical lines: *In aestimatione frumenti quod ad civitatem Alexandrinam conveyitur, quidquid de crithologia [crithologiae Mommsen] et zygostasii munere et pro nauclerorum tuenda substantia eminentia tua disposuit, roboramus*. In addition to the mention of the duty of the officials at Alexandria to weigh the grain that is transported there, the words *aestimatione* and *crithologia* suggest that the rescript is making reference to their responsibility to assess the quality of the grain, including assessing damages in the event that

<sup>14</sup> We might compare the use of ἀνθολογία in literary texts as referring to a process (Lucian, *Piscator* 6; Eutecnius, *Paraphr. in Opp. Cyneg.*, *Abh. d. kön. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, N.F. 4.1 [1900] p. 43, line 4) and its use as a concrete collective to refer to a literary anthology.

samples are found, as in *P.Oxy.* 708, to contain barley or other foreign substances that affect the stated amount of wheat declared on bills of lading.

The meaning of *crithologia* in this text has occasioned a variety of responses. Clyde Pharr, the English translator of the *Theodosian Code*, unaware of the appearance of the term in the papyri, takes *crithologia* to mean "grain collector" and pairs it with *zygostasii* to refer to two distinct offices.<sup>15</sup> Cadell (p. 1284) rules out Pharr's interpretation as being incompatible with the context, and takes the term to mean "une taxe compensatoire pour détection d'orge." On the other hand, Sijpesteijn (pp. 136-7) raises the question of whether *crithologia* was a *munus*. Whether or not that was so depends on the grammatical case of the noun as used in this passage: Was it *crithologia* (ablative) as found in the manuscript *Vat.Reg.886* or *crithologiae* (genitive) as emended by Theodor Mommsen? Sijpesteijn opts for *crithologiae*, declaring: "on the strength of this [Mommsen's] conjecture (and supported by *P.Petaus* 53) I state that κριθολογία could be a *munus*. The before cited Michigan papyri induce me to leave the possibility that κριθολογία could also be a private job open."<sup>16</sup>

The difficulty in resolving the issue as to whether one or two offices are being referred to in *quidquid de crithologia* [*crithologiae* Mommsen] *et zygostasii munere* also depends on the meaning of *crithologia* in the context of the rescript. If we take the word as referring in a concrete and collective sense to shipments or cargoes of tax-grain that have been processed by κριθολογία, the grammatical case does not require the emendation suggested by Mommsen, as can be seen in the following proposed translation of the rescript:

In connection with the assessment of (the quality and quantity) of the grain which is conveyed to the city of Alexandria, We confirm whatever (regulations) Your Eminence has instituted concerning shipments of cleaned tax-grain (*de crithologia*) and concerning the office of the weigh-master (*zygostasii*

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<sup>15</sup> Clyde Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels* (Princeton 1952) 421.

<sup>16</sup> For discussion concerning the interpretation of the word *crithologia* by Latin lexicographers, together with further comments on whether or not it denotes a *munus*, see Cadell, p. 1280.

*munere*) and for the protection of the property of the ship-masters.<sup>17</sup>

The concluding portion of the rescript, focusing on closing off opportunities for the theft of goods, provides added support for interpreting κριθολογία/*crithologia* concretely and collectively as referring to shipments of tax-grain that were to be examined for quality and quantity by appointed officials. What follows is Pharr's translation:

In order that the decurions (*curiales*) may be deprived of any opportunity for plunder, We command that they shall never be admitted to undertake such a duty, but the designated offices, after examination by your wise forethought, shall perform the aforesaid task.

This has all the earmarks of a response to a petition, perhaps by the Prefect on his own behalf and that of boatmen, against unauthorized officials stealing grain from ships' holds or from Alexandrian granaries.

To sum up our results concerning the noun, κριθολογία in declarations by boatmen was used in a collective sense to denote a shipment or cargo of tax-grain that had been cleaned of its adulterating substances. That was its use in the three unpublished Michigan documents as well as, probably, in the *Theodosian Code*. However, landowners preparing their required shipments of tax-grain, as well as officials in the villages and in Alexandria who were concerned with the *embole*, used the term to describe the process which removed those adulterating substances, especially barley, from wheat. This process is expressed as well by the verb κριθολογεῖν, especially by the infinitive κριθολογηθῆναι.

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<sup>17</sup> We can observe the *zygostasii munus* at work in *P.Oxy.* IV 708, dated to 188 A.D. (cf. above).

## Notes on Papyri Relating to Claudia Isidora Also Called Apia

### ABSTRACT

This article re-examines the twenty or so papyri already published which relate to Claudia Isidora also known as Apia or which may do so, especially their dates.

In the course of working on several unedited papyri which relate to the estate of Claudia Isidora also known as Apia,<sup>1</sup> I have had occasion to re-examine papyri already published which refer to her or the estate or which may do so.<sup>2</sup> The relevant papyri have often been listed previously, and in his introduction to *P.Stras.* VIII 773 Jacques Schwartz recorded no fewer than eight such lists, to which his own list is to be added. Subsequently the relevant papyri have been listed once again in *P.Col.* X 276.2-3n.<sup>3</sup> This is the most complete and accurate of the lists, though none is in my opinion wholly accurate. If we confine ourselves to papyri in which Κλαυδία Ἰσιδώρα ἢ καὶ Ἀπία occurs, there are 14 published texts:

<i>P.Col.</i> X 276	212-225
<i>P.Yale</i> I 69	24 June 214
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XLI 2997 <sup>4</sup>	12 July 214
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XII 1530	probably 216/17

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<sup>1</sup> The texts will appear in *P.Oxy.* LXX. I had already mentioned the existence of these texts in *JJP* 18 (1974) 239 n. 4; cf. 241.

<sup>2</sup> It would be misleading to describe this miscellaneous collection of texts as an 'archive' of Isidora and the term should be avoided. *P.Yale* I 69, introd., rightly refers to them as "chance finds."

<sup>3</sup> Correct the references to *P.Stras.* VIII 773 and *P.FuadUniv.* App. II 118. The text of *P.Rob.* inv. 4 (now *P.Duke* inv. 747) has been republished as *SB* XX 14292.

<sup>4</sup> Originally published by Elizabeth Constantinides in *BASP* 6 (1969) 55-8. The punctuation in lines 5-6 should be that indicated in the note to *P.Oxy.* 2997, not that given in the edition.

<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIV 1659.5	218-221
<i>P.Oxy.</i> VII 1046	Dec. 218/Jan. 219
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIV 1634	19 Feb. 222
<i>P.FuadUniv.</i> App. II 118 <sup>5</sup>	not later than summer 225
<i>SB</i> XVI 12235 <sup>6</sup>	not later than summer 225
<i>P.Stras.</i> VIII 773	not later than summer 225
<i>SB</i> XX 14292 <sup>7</sup>	probably not later than summer 225
<i>P.Oxy.</i> XXXI 2566	13 June 225
<i>BGU</i> XI 2126 + <i>SB</i> XIV 11403	probably 232/3
<i>P.Oslo</i> III 111.126 and 129	Feb. 235

Claudia Isidora's position as an owner of a substantial amount of property both in Oxyrhynchos and in the Oxyrhynchite nome has been discussed on several occasions, most recently by Kehoe and Rowlandson.<sup>8</sup> From two of the unedited texts we learn that her father had been a distinguished citizen of Alexandria. This confirms what we should in any case have suspected, that she was an absentee landlord who resided no doubt in Alexandria.<sup>9</sup> It is most probable that the provenance of all the texts which refer to her is the Oxyrhynchite nome. Of those which are not part of the Oxyrhynchos collection *P.Yale* 69, *P.Col.* 276, *P.FuadUniv.*, *SB* 12235, 14292, *BGU* 2126 and *P.Oslo* 111 all have information linking them to the Oxyrhynchite.<sup>10</sup> *P.Stras.* 773 has no geographical information and the reason the editor assigned it to the Oxyrhynchite is the mention of Isidora.

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<sup>5</sup> Accepting the correction of the reading suggested by Dieter Hagedorn, *JJP* 23 (1993) 54 (= *BL* X, 77).

<sup>6</sup> Published by Loisa Casarico, *Aegyptus* 60 (1980) 123-7, with plate.

<sup>7</sup> Published by William H. Willis, *BASP* 25 (1988) 118-21, with plate.

<sup>8</sup> Dennis P. Kehoe, *Management and Investment on Estates in Roman Egypt*. *Pap.Texte Abh.* 40 (Bonn 1992) 124-6, 137-9; Jane Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996) 114-5. For earlier discussions see Hugh MacLennan, *Oxyrhynchus* (Princeton 1935) 39-42, M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*<sup>2</sup> (Oxford 1957) 674 n. 48, 747 n. 61.

<sup>9</sup> Kehoe misleadingly describes her as a "wealthy Oxyrhynchite."

<sup>10</sup> For *P.FuadUniv.* see Hagedorn, *op.cit.* (above, n. 5); and for *SB* 12235 see *id.*, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 159.



In the introduction to *P.Yale I 69*, where all the relevant texts known at that time are briefly described, the editors remark that "the dates of many of these documents are in doubt." In a number of cases the dates, as well as one or two other features, do require discussion. The date of *P.Yale 69* is in fact quite certain, but it is now possible to improve the reading after Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώ[ρας τ]ῆς καὶ Ἀπίας in line 7. From the editor's description of the writing I had already suggested καὶ ὥς χρηματίζει,<sup>11</sup> and this can now be confirmed, since a digital image of the papyrus is available on the APIS web site:<sup>12</sup> I read καὶ ὥς χρημ[ατίζει].

*P.Col. X 276* is a petition to the strategos of the Oxyrhynchite by a γραμματεὺς of Claudia Isidora also called Apia καὶ ὥς χρηματίζει. It is undated but can be dated to the period when the strategos is known to have been in office. Unfortunately the *cognomen* of the strategos is unclear. The editor read the name as Αὐρηλίω Ἀρπ[οκρατίωνι, known to have been in office from 218 to early 225.<sup>13</sup> He also mentions as a possibility Αὐρηλίω Ζην[οβίω, a possible predecessor of Harpokration, though remarking that "Αρπ seems a better reading of the traces than Ζην." We can, I believe, discount this alternative. The reading is in my judgement very unlikely,<sup>14</sup> and in any case it is not certain that Zenobios was a strategos of the Oxyrhynchite.<sup>15</sup> Nikolaos Gonis, however, has sug-

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<sup>11</sup> See *JJP* 18 (1974) 239 n. 3 (= *BL VII*, 283), where I remarked that the expression was used of Isidora in an Oxyrhynchite papyrus (now *P.Oxy. XLI 2997*). It has since occurred in *P.Col. X 276.3*, see the next paragraph.

<sup>12</sup> At <<http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/projects/digital/apis/>>.

<sup>13</sup> For the dates of the strategoi discussed in this paragraph see Paul Mertens, *CdE* 31 (1956) 341-55, and Guido Bastianini, John Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* (Florence 1987) 97f.

<sup>14</sup> Apart from the plate (Plate 31), a digital image of the papyrus can be consulted on the APIS web site, for which see n. 12.

<sup>15</sup> The sole text to mention him is *P.Alex.Giss. 62*, and the editor did not give any reason why he assigned this papyrus to the Oxyrhynchite. His name is perhaps to be restored in *P.Lond. inv. 2175* (217): see the full publication of this text by P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 175-82 (now = *SB XXIV 16251*). Also, the date of *P.Alex.Giss. 62* is not above suspicion, since the imperial titles do not exactly follow the normal pattern for Elagabalus (as Schwartz no doubt recognised, since he adds "[sic]").

gested that a more probable reading would be Αὐρηλίω Ἀν[ουβίωνι, known as strategos from 212/3-216/7.<sup>16</sup> Harpokration's successor, Aurelius Antyllus, would obviously be as acceptable palaeographically as Aurelius Anoubion; but he can be ruled out, since he was not in office until after Isidora's property had fallen into the possession of the fiscus.<sup>17</sup> Harpokration and Anoubion were both in office while Isidora was still in control of her property and so either would be suitable in *P.Col.* 276. The letters of the *cognomen* of the strategos are so badly preserved as to prevent a decision between the two.<sup>18</sup> If we allow for both possibilities, the extreme limits of this text are 212-25.

In the original publication of *P.Oxy.* XII 1530, line 2 was given as κλ(ηρονόμοι) Ἰσιδώρα ἢ καὶ Ἀπία, with a note that the nominative was an error for the genitive (so in line 22). Obviously the nominative is correct and we must expand Κλ(αυδία). This seems to have been tacitly assumed in several of the lists mentioned earlier.<sup>19</sup> The date of the text poses something of a problem, since it is written on the back of *P.Oxy.* XII 1525.<sup>20</sup> *P.Oxy.* 1525 relates to payments of grain in Mesore from the harvest of the past 24<sup>th</sup> year of Caracalla. This harvest therefore took place in summer 216; if Mesore refers to the same harvest (as we should naturally assume), its date is late July/August 216. The text itself cannot have been written until some time in the next Egyptian year, 216/7; Grenfell

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<sup>16</sup> *ZPE* 129 (2000) 179.

<sup>17</sup> On the date by which this must have happened see below.

<sup>18</sup> Roger Bagnall kindly checked the original for me and reported that the reading Ἀν[ουβίωνι would not be difficult, but he is not sure that it is to be preferred to Ἀρπ[οκρατίωνι.

<sup>19</sup> However, the only place where the correction is mentioned, so far as I have noted, is *P.Col.* X 276, p. 122 n. 109, so that the correction did not appear in the *Berichtigungsliste* until *BL* XI, 151. Thus Kehoe, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 125, who rightly includes this text as evidence for the holdings of Claudia Isidora alias Apia, mistakenly refers to it as mentioning her heirs.

<sup>20</sup> The problem does not seem to have been noted in earlier lists which give dates: *P.Col.* 276, *P.Yale* 69, Casarico (above, n. 6), and George Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt*. *Am.Stud.Pap.* 18 (Amsterdam 1978) 66 n. 19 all record the date as 215/6 without comment. It has, however, been noticed by Nico Kruit: see *BL* XI, 151.

and Hunt suggested that it belongs to Thoth of that year. *P.Oxy.* 1530 also refers to year 24, with no indication that it is past. It is headed *αιτολογίας Φθώχ(εως) κδ (ἔτους)* and records amounts of grain due from Isidora and others. If we make the natural assumption that it was written after the front of the papyrus had been used, it cannot be from year 24 but at the earliest from the autumn of the following Egyptian year, 216/7. The editors point out that several lines are later insertions "recording actual payments." Presumably the document on the back was drawn up in the office of the *αιτολόγοι* to record payments which they required from the harvest of year 24, later noting what payments they received. In which case *P.Oxy.* 1530 was most probably written in the year 216/17, soon after the text on the front.

*P.Oxy.* XIV 1659 is an account of crown-tax relating to 10-14 Hathyr of an unknown year in the reign of Elagabalus. There are three possibilities: 6-10 November 218, 7-11 November 219 and 6-10 November 220. November 221 is not possible, since the text must date before it was known in Egypt that Severus Alexander had been associated in the dating formula; he became joint emperor on 26 June 221 and is attested in the dating formula in Egypt by Phaophi of year 5 = late September/October 221.<sup>21</sup> Thus the text falls after 10 November 218 and not later than summer 221. For the date of *P.Oxy.* XIV 1634 see Grenfell and Hunt's note to line 11.

Probably the most important, and certainly the most interesting, fact which we know about Isidora is that her estate came into the possession of the fiscus at some point.<sup>22</sup> It is certain that this had happened by the date of *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2566, 19 Payni, year 4. It is also certain that this is year 4 of Severus Alexander = 13 June 225.<sup>23</sup> This text strongly suggests that the fiscus had only recently

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<sup>21</sup> *P.Giss.Univ.* VI 50 and *SB* XVI 12505.

<sup>22</sup> I have avoided using the word 'confiscate'. It is quite likely that the government did confiscate Isidora's property, but we have as yet no clear evidence to rule out the alternative possibility, that her estate came into the possession of the fiscus not through confiscation but because she died without legal heirs.

<sup>23</sup> See John Rea's notes to *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2566 ii 1 and XLIII 3103.1.

taken control,<sup>24</sup> since it contains two notifications to the strategos by a certain Aurelia Apollinarion that she owes debts to the estate. She says that she has learned that it now belongs to the fiscus from a letter of Papirius Sabinus (idios logos?) *νήμερόν σοι* (the strategos) *ἐνταῦθα ἀναδοθείσης*, the implication being that the letter has only just been made public knowledge. We know from *P.Oxy.* XIV 1634 that Isidora was still in control of her property on 19 February 222, and one of the unedited papyri extends this down to late April/May 223. It is quite possible that she still controlled it as late as December 224 (see below on *P.Oxy.* XII 1578). We can therefore be confident that she retained her property until at least the summer of 223 and probably until the early part of 225. This enables us to give a *terminus ante quem* to several texts.

Only a small fragment of *P.FuadUniv. App. II 118*, survives, where her name is preceded by *ἡς*, not *πρότερον*. This suggests we can be reasonably confident that she was still in possession of her property when this text was written, i.e. it is not later than summer 225. The same is true of *P.Stras. VIII 773*, where Isidora appears as one of the owners in a land register.<sup>25</sup> Similarly she occurs as a landowner in *SB XVI 12235*, which must therefore be no later than summer 225.<sup>26</sup>

Whether *SB XX 14292* belongs to the period before or after summer 225 is not wholly certain. It refers to payment made or due to the public bank in respect of at least two pieces of property in the Oxyrhynchite nome. What survives of line 6 reads *ἡς Κλαυδία*

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<sup>24</sup> *P.Yale* I 69, introd., remarks "The confiscation of Claudia Isidora's estate is clearly in the year of this text [sc. *P.Oxy.* 2566]."

<sup>25</sup> Schwartz comments that at the time this text was written Isidora was "encore vivante." This is true but would not by itself rule out the possibility that she was still alive but had had her property seized by the fiscus; cf. *P.Col.* X 276, introd.

<sup>26</sup> On the date see further Dieter Hagedorn, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 159-60. I do not know what to make of the reference in col. ii 6 to *γυμνασιαρχία* Ἀπ[ι]α, but I do not think it has anything to do with the previous entry for Claudia Isidora alias Apia (as Casarico, *Aegyptus* 60 [1980] 123, originally suggested; she is less confident of this in *ZPE* 48 [1982] 117).

Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας πρότερον [. <sup>27</sup> The papyrus has no year-date preserved, but since πρότερον occurs after Isidora's name and not before it, this ought to mean that the text dates from the period when she was still in control of her property, i.e. not later than summer 225. There is also the point that the text is addressed to a χειρικτῆς Asklepiades and a χειρικτῆς of this name is known to have been an agent of Isidora. <sup>28</sup>

The second column of **BGU XI 2126** was discussed by me in *JJP* 18 (1974) 239-44, and the re-edition of this column has been republished as *SB XIV 11403*. <sup>29</sup> By the date of this text Isidora was no longer in possession of her estates. Both columns contain a year number, which must be either 12 or 2; in the article cited I argued for year 12 (p. 243). This would have to be from the reign of Severus Alexander, i.e. 232/3. If year 2 were the correct reading, it would be from the reign of Maximinus or Gordian, respectively 235/6 and 238/9, neither of which is impossible. <sup>30</sup>

In addition to the above texts there are several papyri which may or may not refer to Claudia Isidora alias Apia. <sup>31</sup> In their note to *P.Oxy.* XIV 1630.3 Grenfell and Hunt suggested that this text,

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<sup>27</sup> Willis rejected τῆς since there is not room for Isidora to have been mentioned in the preceding lines, and, following a comment of mine, suggested that the name may have been preceded by κρατίτης or λαμπροτάτης (see his introd. and note to line 4). I now think this unlikely, since the epithet would more naturally occur after the name. A quite different approach would be to supply φροντιστῆς as the subject of a verb governing οἰκίαν (line 7). But this is pure speculation.

<sup>28</sup> See *P.Oxy.* XII 1578 ii 18-19 and iii 30-31; on this text see below.

<sup>29</sup> The version of col.i. included in the Duke DataBank under *SB 11403* is misleading: for corrections suggested in *JJP* see *BL VII*, 24 to *BGU 2126*, and add the correction πραγ(ματενῆ) in col.i 1.

<sup>30</sup> Both dates are slightly later than the latest date known for certain in which Isidora is mentioned: *P.Oslo* 111.126 and 129, from Feb. 235; but this text shows that arrangements for transferring her property had still not been completed by then, since houses in Oxyrhynchos are still recorded as (πρότερον) Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας.

<sup>31</sup> I leave out of account papyri which have different documents on front and back in which one side refers to Claudia Isidora also called Apia, but where there is no reason to think that the document on the other side also belongs to her papers: *P.Oxy.* VII 1064, XII 1525 and XIV 1736.

*P.Oxy.* VI 919 and XII 1578 "probably refer to the same individual, who may also well be identical with Κλ. Ἰσιδ. ἢ καὶ Ἀπία" in *P.Oxy.* VII 1046, XIV 1634 and 1659. This view has been almost universally accepted, usually without any indication that there is room for doubt, even though the additional name Apia does not appear in any of these three texts (i.e. *P.Oxy.* 919, 1578 and 1630).<sup>32</sup> The name Isidora was common in Egypt and there were no doubt several women in Roman Egypt called Claudia Isidora.<sup>33</sup>

***P.Oxy.* XII 1578**, which is now at Wellesley College, includes three columns of writing. Col. i preserves only a few letters from the end of lines and has not been published. Col. ii was published in full in *P.Oxy.* 1578, but only a few lines of col. iii were published there. These two columns were given a full publication by Linda Fay Kaufman in *BASP* 3 (1965/6) 30-1.<sup>34</sup> Both columns contain requests for money from a φροντιστής sent to Aurelius Sarapammon, who is described as an ἐπίτροπος of Claudia Isidora. In *P.Oxy.* XII 1578 Grenfell and Hunt originally read in line 1 of col. ii ἐπιτρόπῳ κλ(ηρονόμων) Κλ(αυδίας) Ἰσιδῶ[ρας, but in *P.Oxy.* XIV 1630.3n. they corrected this to ἐπιτρόπῳ Κλ(αυδίας) Ἰσιδῶ[ρας, explicitly adding "there is no κλ(ηρονόμων)." It is therefore unfortunate that Kaufman, in her republication of this column, copied the earlier

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<sup>32</sup> The papyri are included as texts concerning Claudia Isidora alias Apia in all the lists referred to above, though Constantinides, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) does make a distinction: after listing texts which definitely refer to her, she adds "she is probably the same as the Claudia Isidora of *P.Oxy.* 919, 1578, 1630." Note also the remark on the list in *P.Yale* I 69, introd.: "the identification of the same Claudia Isidora in all these documents can be called into question. The worst that can be said for these ten documents, however, is that they all come from Oxyrhynchus, mention a Claudia Isidora, and can be dated to the early third century." *P.Col.* X 276.2-3n. records *P.Oxy.* 919 and 1578 as certain references to her, but says of *P.Oxy.* 1630 only that it may refer to her. All three texts are treated as references to the estate of Claudia Isidora alias Apia by MacLennan, Rostovtzeff, Kehoe and Rowlandson (references above, n. 8; for Rowlandson see also below, n. 47).

<sup>33</sup> In fact I know of only one text in which the Claudia Isidora who occurs is definitely not our Isidora: *I.Portes* 69 = *SB* I 4961, an inscription from the reign of Domitian.

<sup>34</sup> I find no record of the text being included in *Sammelbuch*, even though Kaufman's article gives the only complete publication of lines 20-36 = col. iii.

reading which included κλ(ηρονόμων).<sup>35</sup> In the same note Grenfell and Hunt gave the reading at the start of col. iii as ... ἐπιτρόπῳ Κλ(αυδίας) {I} [ | Ἰσιδώρας τῆς ἀξιολογωτάτης. Again, Kaufman included κλ(ηρονόμων), reading κλ(ηρονόμων) Κ[λ(αυδίας) | Ἰσιδώρας. Her readings are certainly wrong, as is clear from the photograph, which I have examined in the Sackler Library, Oxford.

*P.Oxy.* XII 1578 needs to be considered along with *P.Oxy.* XII 1577, since the evidence, which the two texts provide, shows not only that the Claudia Isidora in 1578 is Claudia Isidora alias Apia but that 1577 also relates to her estate, even though her name does not appear. *P.Oxy.* 1577 is an application for funds sent by a φροντιστῆς Cτεφανεΐτιδος to Αὐρη(λίῳ) Ἡρακλεΐδῃ ἐπιτρόπ(ῳ). On it Grenfell and Hunt commented "Written in the 2<sup>nd</sup> year of an unnamed Emperor, the reign being very likely the same as that in 1578 (4<sup>th</sup> year), which was found in the same mound and may refer to the same estates." In one of the unpublished texts referred to above an Aurelius Herakleides occurs, who is described as an ἐπίτροπος of Claudia Isidora alias Apia. In addition, on the front of this text is an application from a φροντιστῆς to Aurelius Herakleides, which is more or less identical in its general format to *P.Oxy.* 1577. This same text also mentions another ἐπίτροπος of Isidora named Aurelius Sarapammon alias Dionysios, who also occurs in *P.Oxy.* 1578. This indicates that Grenfell and Hunt were right to regard both texts as referring to the same estate and that this was the estate of Claudia Isidora alias Apia. This is important, since *P.Oxy.* 1578 can now be seen to prove that a text referring to a Claudia Isidora, which does not include the alias Apia, can nevertheless be a reference to Claudia Isidora also known as Apia.

Col. ii of *P.Oxy.* 1578 is dated to 27 Hathyr, year 4, and col. iii 20 Choiak, year 4. In *P.Oxy.* 1630.3n. Grenfell and Hunt say of the year "perhaps Elagabalus." If so, the dates would be 23 November and 16 December 220. If the reign were that of Severus Alexander, we should then have proof that Isidora was still in possession of her property on 23 November and 16 December 224. This can certainly

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<sup>35</sup> For the confusion caused by this misreading cf. *P.Col.* X, pp. 118-9 and n. 102. Kehoe too, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) repeats the error on p. 124.

not be ruled out. These are the only two realistic possibilities.<sup>36</sup> The 2<sup>nd</sup> year mentioned in *P.Oxy.* 1577 could belong to Macrinus, Elagabalus or Severus Alexander. If it refers to the same reign as the 4<sup>th</sup> year in *P.Oxy.* 1578, as Grenfell and Hunt suggested, the text must date from the reign of Elagabalus or Severus Alexander, either 30 January 219 or 223.

In *P.Oxy.* XIV 1630, line 3 refers to τ[ῶν περὶ] τὴν Ὀασιὺν ὑπαρχόντων τῆς Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας. In line 4 Grenfell and Hunt read and restored after this [(ἀρούρας) ., ἃς ἔχουσι? ἐν τα]ύτης μι[σθῶς]ει. In their notes to these lines they suggested the possibility that the Isidora in this text might be identified with the Claudia Isidora also called Apia known from other Oxyrhynchite texts, and remarked "If [τῆς καὶ Ἀπίας ... is restored [in line 4], there would be room for no more than ἐν τα]ύτης μι[σθῶς]ει." The restoration they suggest in the text seems to be the more likely one, but the absence of the alias does not invalidate the possibility that the text may refer to property of Claudia Isidora alias Apia, as we have just seen.<sup>37</sup> As the papyrus is assigned by the editors to "the early third century, probably to the reign of Elagabalus," the identification has a good chance of being right. Kehoe and Rowlandson would thus be justified in regarding the text as proving that Isidora had property in the Small Oasis as well as in the Oxyrhynchite.<sup>38</sup> The text is dated 30 Tybi, year 5. If the text refers to Claudia Isidora also called Apia, this can only be a year of Elagabalus = 25 January 222, as it must date before her property came into the possession of the fiscus.<sup>39</sup>

As was indicated above, *P.Oxy.* VI 919 is regarded as equivalent to *P.Oxy.* XII 1578 and XIV 1630 in all the lists, as well as by

<sup>36</sup> Year 4 of Caracalla would take us back to 195 and there is no good evidence relating to Isidora before the second decade of the third century.

<sup>37</sup> With either restoration the word order looks odd. Should we perhaps emend slightly and read in line 4 [(ἀρούρας) ., ἃς ἔχουσι παρ' α]ύτης <ἐν> μι[σθῶς]ει? cf. *P.Ross.Georg.* II 36C.5-6, οὗ εἶχε παρ' αὐτῆς [ἐ]ν μισθῶσει ἀμπε[λῶνος].

<sup>38</sup> See the references given above, n. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Renate Ziegler, *ZPE* 106 (1995) 192. Year 5 of Caracalla is too early, see above, n. 36.



MacLennan, Rostovtzeff, Kehoe and Rowlandson, in that it is included among texts which refer to Claudia Isidora alias Apia. In this case, however, there is far less justification for considering it to refer to this Isidora. The text is dated to a year 22. The reign to which this is to be assigned has been much discussed. Grenfell and Hunt originally assigned it, doubtfully, to the reign of Commodus (182); later they suggested as a possible alternative that of Caracalla (214).<sup>40</sup> If the text does refer to Claudia Isidora alias Apia, we must surely prefer the later date.<sup>41</sup> P.J. Sijpesteijn, however, argued that Julius Sarapion, whose heirs occur in *P.Oxy.* 919.2,<sup>42</sup> is the Ti. Julius Sarapion known from the *P.Theones* archive, and that the hand in which line 11 of *P.Oxy.* 919 is written is the hand of Matreas, known from several texts in this archive.<sup>43</sup> He therefore wished to assign the text to the reign of Antoninus Pius (21 June 159).<sup>44</sup> His view has been recently discussed by Nico Kruit and Klaas Worp, who are in favour of accepting this early date for the reasons Sijpesteijn gave.<sup>45</sup> The amount of text alleged to have been written in the hand of Matreas in *P.Oxy.* 919.11 is tiny and I would hesitate to insist that it is the same as the hand of Matreas illustrated in the plates of several of *P.Theones*.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, I agree with Kruit and Worp in finding Sijpesteijn's argument attractive (though not conclusive) and I should prefer, with them, to assign year 22 to Antoninus Pius. In which case this Claudia Isidora is not the same as the Isidora we are discussing in this article. There is

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<sup>40</sup> *P.Oxy.* XIV 1630.3n.

<sup>41</sup> So, e.g., *P.Oslo* III, p. 153, and most (but not all) of the lists referred to at the start of this article.

<sup>42</sup> See the corrected expansion of the abbreviation given in *BL* I, 329.

<sup>43</sup> *P.Theon.*, p. 2 and n. 6 (see *BL* VII, 132).

<sup>44</sup> Sijpesteijn wrongly gives 21 July 159.

<sup>45</sup> *APF* 46 (2000) 134-5, n.160 (*BL* XI, 145).

<sup>46</sup> I have examined a photograph of *P.Oxy.* 919 in the Sackler Library. Although not indicated in the edition, this line is in a different hand from the rest of the document, as Sijpesteijn noted.

then no evidence that Claudia Isidora alias Apia had property in the Arsinoite nome.<sup>47</sup>

**P.Oxy. XLIII 3118** refers to an application to a high-ranking Roman official by two women who both bear the *gentilicium* Claudia. One of them, Claudia Philoromaea, acts διὰ Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδώρας θυγατρός. If this woman were to be identified with Claudia Isidora also called Apia, the text would presumably need to be earlier than summer 225. *P.Oxy.* 3118 is undated, but not earlier than the third century (see line 2n.). The grounds for thinking it might belong towards the middle of the third century are suggestive but far from conclusive, as the editor makes clear (lines 5-10n.).<sup>48</sup> It would be rather hazardous to suppose this Isidora identical with Claudia Isidora alias Apia, and the editor made no such suggestion.<sup>49</sup>

**P.Oxy. XLIV 3169** is a long account of grain. What survives of the entry for line 184 is ] Ἰσιδώρα ἡ λαμπροτάτη δι(α) [..]... ους. The editor suggested Κλαυδία as the missing *gentilicium* and an identification with Claudia Isidora also called Apia (cf. the introd.).<sup>50</sup> The date is given as between 174 and 212. The *terminus post quem* can almost certainly be brought forward to 190;<sup>51</sup> but the *terminus ante quem* cannot be fixed as rigidly as 212 simply because three of the

<sup>47</sup> As suggested by Rowlandson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 24 and 135, on the basis of *P.Oxy.* 919; cf. also Kehoe, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 125.

<sup>48</sup> One may add that the year 6 in *P.Lond.* III 1157 (pp. 61ff.), referred to in the editor's note to line 6, can hardly be anything other than year 6 of the Philippi (248/9), see *ZPE* 19 (1975) 115-8.

<sup>49</sup> It is listed among papyri concerning her by Casarico, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) and by Schwartz, *P.Stras.* 773, introd. In *P.Col.* X 276.2-3n. it is included among texts which may refer to her. The papyrus was unknown to compilers of earlier lists.

<sup>50</sup> Exactly the same is true of this papyrus as was stated in the previous note regarding *P.Oxy.* 3118. In addition it is included among papyri referring to Claudia Isidora alias Apia by Kehoe, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 125 n. 17.

<sup>51</sup> *P.Oxy.* 3169 refers to property formerly belonging to a Claudius Severus (lines 48 and 58), now in the possession of the fiscus (for the correct expansion of κλ( ) see *BL* IX, 201); he seems very likely to be identical with the procurator Claudius Severus who owned land in the Oxyrhynchite and who was still the owner of his property in *P.Köln* III 143, which dates from 190: see the references to Rowlandson given in *BL* XI, 167.

persons occurring there are Aurelii and the rest are not. We must allow for the possibility that the text was written a year or two after 212, before the effects of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* were fully felt in Egypt. It could thus be contemporary with the earliest texts referring to Claudia Isidora alias Apia. The supplement Κλαυδία in line 184 has, however, been challenged by John Whitehorne in his note to *P.Harr.* II 224.1, where a Julia Isidora τῇ λαμπροτάτῃ occurs, on the grounds that Claudia Isidora also called Apia is nowhere given the epithet λαμπροτάτη, only that of ἀξιολογωτάτη. This argument is no longer valid, as one of the unedited papyri record her with the epithet λαμπροτάτη.<sup>52</sup> But the identification may still be regarded as doubtful,<sup>53</sup> because *P.Harr.* 224 has now proved that there was a Julia Isidora λαμπροτάτη who owned land in the Oxyrhynchite and who may have been more or less contemporary with Claudia Isidora alias Apia.<sup>54</sup>

Finally, *P.Mich.* XV 707 is a fragmentary sale of two slaves.<sup>55</sup> The two owners agree to have sold the slaves to Οὐαλερία Ἐλενοῦς. Line 10 reads παρ]ᾶ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῶν Κλαυδίας Ἰσιδ[ώρας in a broken context. In the introduction Sijpesteijn suggested that this Isidora "may be identical with Claudia Isidora alias Apia." Sijpesteijn also suggested that the text probably dates before 212 because one of the vendors, C. Aurelius Chaeremonianus, "is an Aurelius before the *Constitutio Antoniniana*." However, the fact that this vendor has a *praenomen* as well as the *gentilicium* Aurelius merely suggests that he very probably belonged to a family

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<sup>52</sup> Rowlandson, *op.cit.* (above, n. 8) 114 n. 52, says that Isidora has the epithet κρατίστη in *SB* XX 14292, but this depends on a dubious restoration: see n. 27 above. She does, however, have this epithet in one of the unpublished papyri referred to in n. 1. In *P.Oxy.* XII 1578.iii.1 she is called ἀξιολογωτάτη (but she is never described as ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη ἢ καὶ Ἀπία as Rostovtzeff, *op.cit.* (above, n.8) 747 n. 61 states, nor would we expect to find such a combination).

<sup>53</sup> So Rowlandson, *ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *P.Harr.* 224 is undated and is assigned to the late 2<sup>nd</sup>/early 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. because the lessee is known from *SB* VI 9201, which dates from 203. In the introduction to the *P.Harris* text persuasive arguments are advanced for dating it before c. 212.

<sup>55</sup> Originally edited by P.J. Sijpesteijn in *Aegyptus* 59 (1979) 27-9, with plate, and re-edited by him in *P.Mich.* XV.

which had the Roman citizenship before 212. It does not help to indicate whether the text is likely to belong before or after 212. In lines 21-2 Sijpesteijn was no doubt right to restore the *stipulatio* clause; but since both parties to the contract are Roman citizens, this too does not help with deciding whether the papyrus is to be dated before or after the *Constitutio Antoniniana*. All that survives of the date are the imperial titles  $\text{I}\nu\ \text{E}\upsilon\text{c}\epsilon\beta\omicron\upsilon\text{c}\ \text{E}\upsilon\text{r}\nu\chi\omicron\upsilon\text{c}$  [, which proves, as Sijpesteijn said, that it cannot be earlier than the reign of Commodus.<sup>56</sup> The dating formula would also suit some of the emperors in the early third century, e.g. Elagabalus and Severus Alexander.<sup>57</sup> The text, therefore, is quite likely to be contemporary with other papyri in which Claudia Isidora alias Apia is mentioned, and there would also be no difficulty in supplying  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{'}\text{A}\pi\iota\alpha\varsigma$  after  $\text{'}\text{I}\text{c}\iota\delta\text{[}\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  in the lacuna in line 10. The papyrus contains no indication of provenance; the only reason to connect it with the Oxyrhynchite nome would be if the text did refer to Claudia Isidora alias Apia. Sijpesteijn's note to line 10, however, suggested that the phrase  $\text{παρ[}\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \mu\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omega\text{ν}\ \text{K}\lambda\alpha\upsilon\delta\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \text{'}\text{I}\text{c}\iota\delta\text{[}\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha\varsigma$  probably meant that the vendors inherited the slaves from their (the vendors') mother Claudia Isidora. If we accept this, we must surely conclude that the Isidora in this text cannot be Claudia Isidora alias Apia. Whatever the reason why the property of Claudia Isidora alias Apia came under the control of the fiscus, it is hard to see how her sons could have inherited any part of it.<sup>58</sup> On the other hand, much of the context is lost and we cannot reject the possibility that Isidora had gifted her slaves to her sons while still alive and before her property came under the control of the fiscus.

The text itself, as just indicated, may well be contemporary with other texts in which Claudia Isidora alias Apia occurs. But if we accept Sijpesteijn's suggestion that the vendors had acquired the slaves by inheritance from their mother, as appears to me to be the

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<sup>56</sup> In fact not earlier than the date when he took the title *Felix*, i.e. 185 (Dieter Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*<sup>2</sup> [Darmstadt 1996] 149).

<sup>57</sup> To judge by the palaeography, the text is not later than the middle of the third century.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. *P.Col.* X 276, p. 118: "By the date of *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2566 (225), her property (apparently all of it) was in the possession of the fiscus."

most likely scenario, not only would it appear that we have to accept that the Claudia Isidora in *P.Mich.* 707 was not Claudia Isidora alias Apia,<sup>59</sup> we should also have to conclude that the Claudia Isidora occurring in *P.Mich.* 707 was dead at the time it was written. In which case it would not be impossible if she were identical with the Claudia Isidora of *P.Oxy.* VI 919, which, as we saw, is quite likely to date from 159. If we also accept, as suggested above, that there is evidence in *P.Oxy.* 3118 for another Claudia Isidora, perhaps towards the middle of the third century, we must conclude that there were at least three ladies with these names in the second and third centuries.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Cf. *P.Col.* X, p. 118 n. 100.

<sup>60</sup> This is in addition to the Claudia Isidora known from the first-century inscription referred to in n. 33.

## Petitions to the Centurion: a Question of Locality?

### ABSTRACT

A review of the geographical spread of petitions sent to centurions and other military personnel rather than to the strategus shows that the great majority of them come from the Fayum. Very few are found from other regions such as the Oxyrhynchite, which we might expect to be equally well represented. Several explanations may be suggested for this imbalance: the status of the Fayum as a "frontier area"; a greater military presence in the region than elsewhere; or the greater administrative workload placed on the strategi of the Arsinoite, which led petitioners to send their complaints to local military officers rather than to the civil authorities. A full table of petitions addressed to centurions, decurions and beneficiarii is appended.

In Roman Egypt those who found themselves the object of some type of offence, either criminal or civil—murder, assault, vandalism, theft, housebreaking, desertion, fraud, disputes over land, wills, or dowries—customarily petitioned the strategus as the chief civil official of the nome in which they resided.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes they would already have made a preliminary approach to local village officials such as the archephodos or the village elders. Sometimes they would have tried to go straight to the top immediately and approach the prefect directly, only to have him refer their case back to the strategus. At some stage or other, therefore, most of the complaints which got beyond village level ultimately ended up with the strategus. However, in a small but not insignificant number of cases we find that, instead of the strategus (or in some instances in addition to him<sup>2</sup>), petitioners preferred to address themselves to a

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<sup>1</sup> For a recent bibliography on petitions see *P.Dubl.* 18, introd.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of petitions about the same matter addressed both to a civil official (strategus, acting strategus, or royal scribe by delegation from the prefect) and to a centurion are discussed briefly in *P.Gen.* I<sup>2</sup> 16, Introd., pp.70-1. They are: *SB* I 5235 (to prefect; line 10 refers to a petition to strategus) and 5238 (to centurion; line 13 refers to an earlier petition to acting strategus); *SB* I 5239 and 5954

military official, usually a centurion but sometimes a decurion or beneficiarius, rather than to the civil authorities.

It is now abundantly clear that these military officials had no independent judicial competence and that their involvement even on an investigatory level had no defined administrative basis.<sup>3</sup> Scholars have accordingly sought to explain the approaches which were made to them in terms of who the petitioners were or the type of problems they were complaining about. In his book on the Roman army in Egypt, Alston accordingly offered a grouping of the types of cases with which they are concerned<sup>4</sup>—c. 50% of them involving assault, c. 25% military or administrative misdemeanors, c. 33% property crimes including theft (itself accounting for 15%)—and he and Peachin both remark upon the number of farmers and priests among those petitioning the centurion.<sup>5</sup> Yet no clear pattern emerges either of the type of person or the type of crime involved. Indeed Alston concluded that the centurions "appear to have been administratively superfluous, having no clearly defined role,"<sup>6</sup> a conclusion which was also endorsed by Peachin.

There is another factor, however, which has been noted<sup>7</sup> but has not received full consideration to date. That is the geographical spread of these petitions. After the Augustan period the Roman

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(centurion, strategus, and royal scribe all involved as delegate judges [lines 9-10 and 10]); *P.Gen.* I<sup>2</sup> 3 and *SB* VI 8979 (claim and counterclaim to centurion and acting strategus respectively); *P.Gen.* I<sup>2</sup> 16 (centurion) and *SB* I 4284 (to strategus); and *BGU* I 321 = *M.Chrest.* 114 (to centurion) and 322 = *M.Chrest.* 124 (to strategus) with their duplicates (see now J. Whitehorne, *BASP* 40 [2003] 201-11).

<sup>3</sup> See Michael Peachin, "A petition to a centurion from the NYU Papyrus Collection and the question of informal adjudication performed by soldiers," in A.E. Hanson (ed.), *Miscellanea in Memory of P.J. Sijpesteijn*, *Am.Stud.Pap.* (forthcoming as *P.Sijp.* 15). I am most grateful to Professor Peachin for a pre-publication copy of his paper.

<sup>4</sup> Richard Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History* (London and New York 1995) 91.

<sup>5</sup> Alston, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 91; Peachin, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) n.19.

<sup>6</sup> Alston, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 93.

<sup>7</sup> R.W. Davies, *Service in the Roman Army* (New York 1989) 175; Peachin, *op.cit.* (above, n. 3) n. 4.

forces in Egypt were never very numerous, as the Romans themselves found out to their cost on several occasions, such as the Jewish revolt or the revolt of the Boukoloi. Alston gives an estimate of the total number of soldiers in Egypt at different periods and a breakdown of military units across the province.<sup>8</sup> These statistics make it clear that although Roman soldiers were stationed in a large number of cities and villages, they were spread very thinly across the country as a whole.<sup>9</sup> It is therefore likely that most of the legionary centurions would have been concentrated in Alexandria, either with their troops at the camp at Nikopolis or attached to the office of the prefect or other Roman officials.<sup>10</sup> As for the centurions of the auxiliary units, the majority of them would have been based with their units at Coptos, Thebes or elsewhere in Upper Egypt, or on duties in the Eastern Desert<sup>11</sup> or stationed on the southern borders of Egypt.<sup>12</sup> In short, there must have been many areas of the country where there would probably not have been a centurion to complain to, even if one had wanted to do so.

In the table which follows I give a revised and updated version of Alston's list of petitions to centurions (and other military officials).<sup>13</sup> I have included several documents which were not known

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<sup>8</sup> Alston, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 31 (Table 2.3) 163-91 (Appendix 1).

<sup>9</sup> Alston, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 35.

<sup>10</sup> Cf., e.g., *P.Oxy.* XIV 1637.10n. (*centurio princeps* of the office of the prefect); X 1261 (centurion on staff of *catholicus*); *P.Vind.Sipp.* 1.16 (centurion of office of *procurator rei privatae*).

<sup>11</sup> See Valerie A. Maxfield, "The eastern desert forts and the army in Egypt during the principate," in Donald M. Bailey (ed.), *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt. Proc. 17<sup>th</sup> Classical Colloquium of the Dept. of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum.* JRA Suppl. 19 (Ann Arbor 1996) 9-19 and cf. *O.Claud.* 48 and *passim*.

<sup>12</sup> See Michael P. Speidel, "Nubia's Roman Garrison," *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988) 767-98, esp. 768-75.

<sup>13</sup> Alston, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 88-90 (Table 5.1). My revision is based primarily on searches of the online version of DDBDP at [www.perseus.tufts.edu/texts/papyri/html](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/texts/papyri/html) for the terms ἑκατονταρχ-, δεκαδραρχ-, δεκαταρχ-, βενεφικιαρχ- and an examination of all examples produced, plus addenda and corrigenda listed in BL I-X.



to Alston or published when he was writing,<sup>14</sup> as well as several others which are not strictly speaking petitions but which show the centurion investigating, issuing summonses or acting as a delegate judge in a context which implies an initial petition at an earlier stage in the process.<sup>15</sup> I have also given exact dates wherever possible and added the name of the officer where it is known. Finally, I have paid particular attention to the provenance of the documents. Addenda and corrigenda to Alston's original list are given in bold type.

None of the addenda suggest any need to modify the conclusions already reached by Alston and Peachin about the lack of a clearly defined role for the centurion in the local administration. But what does emerge very clearly from this revised list is the fact that so many of these documents come from the Fayum, to the virtual exclusion of anywhere else. This is remarkable. We know the names of just as many of the strategoi of the Oxyrhynchite as those of the Arsinoite,<sup>16</sup> and the proportion of petitions among documents addressed to the strategus would be roughly the same in both areas. By rights therefore we might also expect both regions to show the same proportion of petitions addressed to centurions. Yet during the first three centuries of Roman rule,<sup>17</sup> there are only 10 examples of Oxyrhynchite petitions addressed to centurions compared to 64 whose provenance is definitely the Arsinoite. Just as striking is the fact that there are also only 2 from elsewhere together with a residue of another 5 whose provenance is unknown.

In only 3 out of these 81 texts can the involvement of the centurion be explained by the status of the parties involved or the nature of the problem. So in *P.Oxy.* XIX 2234 (Oxy., 31) it was the centurion who was approached rather than the strategus because the

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<sup>14</sup> I have omitted from Alston's list *BGU* I 81 (189), a record of grain taxes addressed to the decurion, on the grounds that it is not a petition.

<sup>15</sup> Although we cannot, of course, be sure that the initial petition would have been addressed to the centurion himself.

<sup>16</sup> See G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt. Chronological List and Index* (Florence 1987) 20-58 and 86-106.

<sup>17</sup> The spread of texts from the fourth century shows a marked change. On this period see in general R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 172-80.

crime had involved a soldier; the strategus, as a non-Roman civil official, would have had no jurisdiction over a serving Roman soldier. The same applies in *BGU* I 4/XV 2458 (Ars., 177) where it would have been natural for the veteran to approach the centurion to get his property back from the soldier who had it. In *P.Thmouis* 1.116 (Mendesian, 167/8) the strategus and the centurion provide a joint report called for by the prefect into a massacre of villagers by the Boukoloi; the revolt of the Boukoloi was a serious civil insurrection and the military aspect of the problem provides an obvious explanation for the centurion's presence here.

Taken together, these few examples do nothing to account for the striking preponderance of Arsinoite texts in the list. It may well be that this can be explained as little more than a function of the different archaeological contexts in which the papyri were found in the Arsinoite compared to the Oxyrhynchite, with Arsinoite texts coming primarily from village and town sites rather than from the metropolis of the nome as in the case of Oxyrhynchus.<sup>18</sup> But there may well also be other contributing factors at work. One explanation, which has been suggested, may be the nature of the northern Fayum itself as a relatively remote area, bordering upon the desert.<sup>19</sup> But, as those who have visited the Fayum will know, nowhere is very far from the nome capital Arsinoe. It is also rather difficult to accept the idea of developed centres such as Karanis and Philadelphia as "frontier towns." There are also petitions in the list from Euhemeria, Theadelphia, and Hawara, and none of these sites lies in the northern sector of the Fayum.

Another obvious factor was the greater number of soldiers and ex-soldiers in the Fayum than elsewhere in Egypt, although they were concentrated primarily in Karanis and Philadelphia rather than spread over the northern Fayum as a whole.<sup>20</sup> When Octavian arrived in Egypt, he is said to have set his army to work on recon-

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<sup>18</sup> I owe this suggestion to Roger Bagnall.

<sup>19</sup> See above, n. 7. A similar suggestion is made by D. W. Hobson, "The Impact of Law on Village Life in Roman Egypt," in B. Halpern and D.W. Hobson (eds.), *Law, Politics and Society in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Sheffield 1993) 193-219.

<sup>20</sup> See Alston, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) ch. 7.

structing the irrigation system in order to improve Egypt's economy.<sup>21</sup> If that information can be taken as fact rather than propaganda, much of that work no doubt would have taken place in the Fayum,<sup>22</sup> and this involvement may have been the point of origin for the strong connection later between the region and the military, which is seen most clearly in the inflow of veterans into Karanis in the Domitianic period. But whatever its origin, a greater concentration of soldiery also implies a greater number of centurions in the region who could be approached by complainants.

Finally there is another factor which has to be taken into account but whose impact is more difficult to assess. That is the greater administrative burden which may have been placed upon strategi of the Arsinoite compared to their colleagues elsewhere. In the period up to the early 60s the usual designation for Arsinoite strategi is στρατηγὸς Ἀρσινόιτου and at that time there may have been only a single strategus for the whole region. From the mid 60s onwards we find separate strategi for the merides of Heracleides and Themistos, and they are joined from perhaps about the same time<sup>23</sup> by a third strategus for the meris of Polemon. Then from 136/7 that number is reduced back down to two: a strategus of the meris of Heracleides and a strategus of the merides of Themistos and Polemon combined.<sup>24</sup> Finally in the 260s the number is reduced again to a single official, who is once again known as the στρατηγὸς Ἀρσινόιτου. These administrative changes presumably reflect an official response (after a certain time lag since such changes never happen instantaneously) to the increase in the region's population in the first century and then to the beginning of its decline in the second century.

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<sup>21</sup> Suet., *Aug.* 18; Dio 51.18.1.

<sup>22</sup> Although Alston, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 79, queries any personal involvement of army personnel in the work itself.

<sup>23</sup> The *terminus post quem* remains 50/1, when Ammonius is addressed as "strategus of the merides of Heracleides and Polemon" (*P.Gen.* II 91); the *terminus ante* is 94 (*SB* V 7599), when the regular title "strategus of the Arsinoite of the meris of Polemon" is first found.

<sup>24</sup> See D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 44 (1981) 137-40.

In such a situation, complainants who had military personnel living among them, or saw them regularly involved in a supervisory role in the land economy and the collection of taxes in kind (either for the state or for the direct provision of army supplies), may have preferred to petition them rather than the strategus, if they perceived the latter as increasingly overburdened with administrative matters and therefore less likely to respond quickly to any request, if at all. In itself this is certainly not an entirely adequate explanation for such an imbalance in the geographical spread of these texts. But perhaps it goes some way at least towards understanding one aspect of them—their local nature—which should be taken in account whenever these texts are considered as a group.<sup>25</sup>

#### Petitions to centurions, decurions and beneficiarii

Document	Date	Provenance	Officer	Content
<i>P.Oslo</i> II 30 = <i>Doc.Eserc.Rom.</i> 71	19.7.20 B.C.	Sentrepaei, ArsTh.	Centurion, Anchoriphis ( <i>BL</i> III 121)	Oath of surety for woman's appearance before cent.
<i>SB</i> X 10308 <sup>26</sup>	30.6.11	Soknopaiou Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Lucretius	Land dispute; cent. as <i>iudex datus</i> .
<i>SB</i> I 5238	<b>26.5.14</b> ( <i>BL</i> VII 186)	Sokn.Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Lucretius	Petition re violent assault.
<b><i>SB</i> I 5239<sup>27</sup></b>	14/15	Sokn.Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Lucretius	Land dispute; cent. as <i>iudex datus</i>
<b><i>SB</i> I 5954</b>	14/15	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Lucretius	Petition re land dispute.

<sup>25</sup> I owe especial thanks to Professors G. Bastianini and R. Pintaudi for their hospitality in Florence and for the use of the resources of the Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli' and the Accademia Fiorentina di Papirologia e di Studi sul Mondo Antico. This is an expanded version of a paper originally presented at the XXIV International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki 2004, and I am greatly indebted to Roger Bagnall, Alan Bowman, and Paul Schubert for their comments and suggestions at that time.

<sup>26</sup> *SB* X 10308, I 5238, 5239 and 5954 all concern the same Satabous son of Erius (better Herieus).

<sup>27</sup> *SB* I 5239 and 5954 both relate to the same matter. The strategus and royal scribe are also cited as delegate judges; see above, n. 2.

<i>P.Oxy.</i> XIX 2234	12.5.31	Teis, Oxy.	Centurion, Q. Caius Passer ( <i>BL</i> X 147)	Petition re theft of fish involving soldier.
<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 141 = <i>Doc.Eserc.Rom.</i> 76	27.4.37	Euhemeria, ArsH.	Centurion, C. Trebius Iustus	Petition re violent assault
<i>P.Thomas</i> 5 <sup>28</sup>	<b>24.7.46</b>	Philadelphia, ArsH.	Centurion, L. Cattius Catulus	Oath of surety
<i>P.Mich.</i> X 582	<b>50</b> ( <i>BL</i> VII 114)	Philadelphia, ArsH.	Centurion ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, Cattius <sup>29</sup>	Petition from tax collector re colleague
<i>P.NYU inv.</i> 69 <sup>30</sup>	50/51	Philadelphia, ArsH.	Centurion, L. Cattius Catulus	Petition re theft with violence.
<i>P.Oslo</i> II 21	29.9.71	Karanis, ArsH.	Centurion, Lucius Annius (?)	<b>Petition re theft of olives.</b>
<i>PSI XIII</i> 1356	i	Oxyrhynchus (?) Oxy.	Centurion, Q. Fabius Fabullus	Petition - content lost
<i>SB XVI</i> 12951	12.2.100	Karanis, ArsH.	[name only] <sup>31</sup> Iulius Nominatus	Petition re break-in and theft.
<i>BGU</i> III 908	<b>101/102</b> ( <i>BL</i> I 81)	Bacchias, ArsH.	Centurion, Messius Audax	Petition re vandalism of village officials.
<i>BGU</i> I 36/II 436 = <i>M.Chrest.</i> 125 = <i>Doc.Eserc.Rom.</i> 82	<b>(c.101/2)</b> <sup>32</sup>	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Messius Audax	Petition re assault.

<sup>28</sup> *P.Col.* inv. 90, cited by Alston, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 88, *per errorem* as "P.Corn. inv. 90." Discussed by A.E. Hanson, "Village officials at Philadelphia; a model of Romanization in the Julio-Claudian period," in L.Criscuolo and G. Geraci (eds.), *Egitto e Storia Antiqua dall'Ellenismo all'Età Araba* (Bologna 1989) 429-40, esp. 433-4 (also for date). An image may also be checked on the APIS website at [www.columbia.edu/dlc/apis](http://www.columbia.edu/dlc/apis).

<sup>29</sup> The image of *P.Mich.* X 582 on the APIS website confirms the name Cattius in ii 15 rather than *ed.pr.*'s Clotius: see *P.Thomas* 5, p. 93, n.14.

<sup>30</sup> Forthcoming as *P.Sijp.* 15; see above, n. 3.

<sup>31</sup> Not a strategus.

<i>P.Ryl.</i> II 81	<b>11.7.107</b> (line 2)	ArsTh.	Strategus/ Centurion, Iulius S....	Report of shore guard w. ref. to prior report via centurion.
<i>P.Amh.</i> II 77 = <i>W.Chrest.</i> 277 = <i>Sel.Pap.</i> II 282	1.7.139	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Epistrategus/ Beneficiarius ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων	Petition to epistr. re tax fraud and violence w. ref. to prior report to beneficiarius.
<b><i>P.Gen.</i> I<sup>2</sup> 74</b>	<b>139-145</b> <sup>33</sup>	Arsinoe ArsThP.	(Strategus/ Centurion)	Letter re disputed will; ref to earlier petition and centu- rion as <i>iudex da- tus</i> .
<i>P.Grenf.</i> I 47	21.4.148	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	<b>Decurion</b> , Annicus Petronianus	Petition re theft of crops and disap- pearance.
<i>SPP</i> XXII 55	3.11.167	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Beneficiarius ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων 'of the prefect' Heron	<b>Petition re theft.</b>
<i>P.Hamb.</i> I 10	24.11.(167- 8?) <sup>34</sup>	Theadelphia, ArsTh.	Decurion, Antonius Longus	Petition re robbery with violence.
<i>P.Tebt.</i> II 304	24.7.168	Tebtunis, ArsPol.	Decurion of Ars., Longi- nus	Petition re assault.
<i>P.Thmouis</i> 1.116	167/8	Mendesian	(Strategus + Centurion), Kodratos (= <i>Quadratus</i> )	Joint report to pre- fect re attack on village by Boukoloï.
<i>BGU</i> I 4 / XV 2458	2.3.177	<b>Arsinoite (?)</b> (ed.pr.)	Centurion, Severus Iustus	Petition from vet- eran re return of property left w. soldier.

<sup>32</sup> *BGU* III 908 gives an approximate date.

<sup>33</sup> For text as part of Drusilla lawsuit see P. Schubert, *ZPE* 130 (2000) 211-7, and *P.Gen.* I<sup>2</sup> 74, introd.

<sup>34</sup> Date depends upon identification of Longus with Longinus of *P.Tebt.* II 304, which is by no means certain.

<i>P.Gen.</i> I <sup>2</sup> 3 = <i>M.Chrest.</i> 122	<b>20.9.178 or 21.9.179</b> <sup>35</sup>	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Furius Pro- culus	Petition re theft w. violence.
<i>P.Petaus</i> 123	<b>(before 184)</b> <sup>36</sup>	<b>Arsinoe,</b> ArsThP.	Decurion, Aur. Anto- ninus	Petition - content lost.
<b><i>P.Amh.</i> II 78 = <i>M.Chrest.</i> 123</b>	27.9.184	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Aur. Anto- ninus	Petition re fraud and violence.
<i>SB</i> XIV 11904	(c. 184)	Tebtunis, ArsPol.	Centurion, Aur. Anto- ninus	Petition re extor- tion and kidnapp- ing.
<b><i>SB</i> V 8940 = <i>P.Strasb.</i> III 150</b>	Before 182/3 or 214/5	Philadelphia, ArsH.	Centurion, [name lost]	Petition re dis- puted will.
<i>P.Lond.</i> II 342 p.173	<b>21.6.185 (or 217)</b> (ed.pr., introd.)	<b>Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.</b>	Beneficiarius ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων	Petition re violence by village elders.
<b><i>SB</i> VIII 9853</b>	180-192	?	Centurion, ... mellus	Oath to present slave of murdered brother in Alexan- dria
<i>BGU</i> II 651 = <i>M.Chrest.</i> 111	9.5.192	Karanis, ArsH.	Centurion, Valerius Germanus	Petition re arson.
<b><i>SB</i> IV 7469</b>	5.2.193	Theadelphia, ArsTh.	demosioi	Theft of piglet; ref. to approach to cen- turion ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων
<i>P.Mich.</i> III 175 = <i>Doc.Eserc.Rom.</i> 77	18.4.193	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Ammonius Paternus	Petition re theft with violence.
<i>BGU</i> II 515 = <i>W.Chrest.</i> 268 = <i>Doc.Eserc.Rom.</i> 78	2.6.193	Karanis (line 9), ArsH.	Centurion, Ammonius Paternus	Petition re rob- bery with violence.

<sup>35</sup> See new edition. A counterclaim, *SB* VI 8979 re-ed. H.C. Youtie *ZPE* 3 (1968) 11-4, was lodged with the acting strategus; see above, n. 2, and D.H. Samuel, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 255-9.

<sup>36</sup> Aur. Antoninus still a decurion; see *P.Petaus* 123, introd.

<i>BGU II 454 = Doc.Eserc.Rom. 79</i>	17.6.193	Herakleia, ArsTh.	Centurion, Ammonius Paternus	Petition re theft of crops.
<i>P.Mich. VI 425</i>	11-26.8.198	Karanis, ArsH.	Epistrategus	Petition re assault; epistr. gives authority to petition cent. ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων.
<i>BGU II 522 = Doc.Eserc.Rom. 80</i>	ii <sup>37</sup>	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Valerius Maximus	<b>Petition - content lost.</b>
<i>SB VI 9290 = Doc.Eserc.Rom. 69</i>	mid ii	?	From centurion, Domitius Iulianus	Summons to appear before centurion.
<i>SB XIV 12179</i>	mid ii	Karanis, ArsH.	Centurion, Domitius Iulianus	<b>Petition- content lost.</b>
<i>P.Mil.Vogl. II 73<sup>38</sup></i>	ii	Tebtunis, ArsPol.	Decurion "of Ars."	Petition re disputed will.
<i>BGU VII 1676</i>	ii	Philadelphia, ArsH.	-	Cent. holds petitioner to await arbitration.
<i>SB XIV 11390</i>	ii	Fayum (ed.pr.)	-	Report of proceedings; ref. to cent. (?)
<i>P.Giss. 111</i>	ii	?	-	Report of proceedings; 'the cent. said:'
<i>P.Oxy. IX 1185</i>	c. 200	Oxy.	-	Ref to cent. in prefect's letter.
<i>P.Tebt. II 334</i>	200/201	Tebtunis, ArsPol.	Centurion, ...us Gallus	Petition re desertion and robbery.
<i>SPP XXII 49</i>	200/201	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Iulius Claudianus	Petition re land dispute.
<i>SB X 10619</i>	201	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Decurion, Antonius A.t[ 6 ]us	Request for permission for entertainers.

<sup>37</sup> Text cannot be dated more closely.

<sup>38</sup> Re-ed. H. Melaerts, *CdE* 66 (1991) 266-78.



<i>SPP</i> XXII 87	<b>15.8.202</b> (ed.pr.)	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Gaius ..m[...].enius	Petition re cattle damage to crops.
<i>P.Gen.</i> I <sup>2</sup> 17 = <i>Doc.Eserc.Rom.</i> 73	2-26.3. (c.207)	Philadelphia, ArsH.	Centurion/ decurion Iulius Iulianus and Iulius Konon	Petition re sus- pected foul play.
<i>P.Gen.</i> I <sup>2</sup> 16 <sup>39</sup>	12.10.207	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Iulius Iulianus	Petition re land dispute.
<i>SPP</i> XXII 54	<b>10.10.210</b> ( <i>BL</i> VIII 482)	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Decurion, Claudius Herennius	Petition re assault and robbery.
<i>BGU</i> I 98	24.1.211	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Crenoleius Quintilianus ( <i>BL</i> I 19)	Petition re fraud.
<i>P.Grenf.</i> II 62	3/4.211	Bithynos, Ars. (meris un- known)	Centurion, Crenoleius Quintilianus	Oath of surety to produce person for trial.
<i>BGU</i> I 157	( <b>after</b> <b>212</b> ) <sup>40</sup>	Karanis, ArsH.	Centurion, Aur. Iulius Maximus	Petition re rob- bery; woman's brother in army.
<i>P.Oslo</i> II 23	<b>12.8.212</b> ( <i>BL</i> VIII 228)	Karanis, ArsH.	Centurion, Aur. Valeri- anus	Petition re arson of vines.
<i>BGU</i> I 275	<b>21.12.215</b> (ed.pr.)	Karanis, ArsH.	Centurion, Aur. Sep- timius Iulianus	Petition re bur- glary and vandal- ism.
<i>BGU</i> I 322 = <i>M.Chrest.</i> 124 / <i>SB</i> I 6 <sup>41</sup> = <i>P.Louvre</i> I 3	7.4.216	Sokn. Nesos, ArsH.	Centurion, Aur. Calvisius Maximus	Petition re theft.

<sup>39</sup> A fuller version of the petition, *SB* I 4284, was also lodged with the strategus; see above, n. 3.

<sup>40</sup> Centurion is also an Aurelius.

<sup>41</sup> The strategus was also petitioned about the same crime: *BGU* I 321 (= *M.Chrest.* 114). On *BGU* I 321 and 322 and their duplicates see further J. Whitehorne, *BASP* 40 (2003) 201-11.

<i>P.Tebt.</i> II 333 = <i>Sel.Pap.</i> II 336 = <i>Doc.Eserc.Rom.</i> 74 = <i>M.Chrest.</i> 115	<b>22.12.216</b> (lines 19-21)	Tebtunis, ArsPol.	Centurion, Aur. Iulius Marcellinus	Petition re sus- pected foul play.
<b>SB XVIII 13242</b>	212-217	Hawara (Ars.)	Centurion, Aur. Kyros (?)	Surety on oath.
<i>SB VI 9203</i>	222-235	Tebtunis, ArsPol.	Centurion, Aur. Basilides	Petition re theft and killing of ass.
<i>P.Harr.</i> II 200	9? 5.236	Philadelphia (?), ArsH.	Centurion/ decurion	Petition re theft of sheep; str. also informed.
<b>SB IV 7464 = Sel.Pap. II 291</b>	22.11.248	Philadelphia, ArsH.	Centurion, Aur. Marcianus	Petition re vio- lence.
<i>P.Flor.</i> I 9 p.28	17.1.255	Theoxenis, ArsTh.	Decurion, Aur. Apollo- nius	Petition re theft of ass.
<b>P.Oxy. XIV 1637</b>	256-261	Oxy.	Centurion, Demetrius	Cent. as <i>iudex da-</i> <i>tus</i> in diaeresis.
<b>PSI VII 807</b>	30.1.280	Oxy.	Beneficiarius, Aur. Phi- lantino	Petition re wrong- ful assignment of liturgy.
<b>P.Oxy. XIX 2228</b>	8/9.283 (or 285 ( <i>BL VI</i> 106))	Oxy.	-	Letter of epistr. (?) to strategus; cen- turions mentioned.
<b>PSI XXI Congr. 13 ii</b>	284/5	Oxy.	Beneficiarius "of the prefect of Eg." ... aion	Petition - content lost; citing earlier petition to strategus.
<i>PSI III 222 = Doc.Eserc.Rom.</i> 81	(c.292) <sup>42</sup>	<b>Heracleopolis, Heracl.</b>	Decurion ἐπὶ εἰρήνης, Aur. Didymus	Petition re violence and trespass
<b>P.Oxy. VIII 1121</b>	9.2.295	Oxy.	Beneficiarius "of the prefect of Eg."	Petition re theft of inheritance.

<sup>42</sup> *PSI III 184* (5.7.292), a report of a fire made to the same Aur. Didymus, gives an approximate date.

<b><i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 139 descr.</b>	24-28.8.296	Karanis, ArsH.	Beneficiarius "on duty" (στατίζων) <sup>43</sup> Aur. Gordi- anus	Petition re assault.
<b><i>P.Cair.Isid.</i> 63</b>	after 11.296	Karanis, ArsH.	Beneficiarius "on duty," Aur. Gordi- anus	Petition re violence and misappropria- tion of inheritance.
<b><i>BGU II</i> 390</b>	early iii	Fayum (ed.pr.)	(Centurion)	Report of proceed- ings; ref to decision by centurion.
<b><i>P.Heid.</i> III 237</b>	mid iii ( <i>BL</i> V 43)	Theadelphia (?), ArsTh.	Centurion, Claudius Alexander ( <i>BL IX</i> 103).	Petition re deser- tion by wife.
<i>SB V</i> 8004	iii	?	From decu- rion	Order to arrest for theft.
<i>P.Mil.Vogl.</i> IV 233 = <i>SB VI</i> 9489	iii	Tebtunis, ArsPol.	Centurion ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων.	Petition re embez- zlement of public land.
<i>P.Mil.Vogl.</i> IV 234 = <i>SB VIII</i> 9657	iii	Tebtunis, ArsPol	Beneficiarius ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων	Petition re break- in and theft.
<b><i>P.Giss.Univ.</i> I 15 = <i>Doc.Eserc.Rom.</i> 71</b>	iii	Syron Kome, ArsH.	From centu- rion	Order to arrest
<b><i>P.Oxford</i> 5 fr.B</b>	iii	Oxy.	-	Report of proceed- ings; ref. to centu- rion.
<b><i>SB XVI</i> 12949</b>	iii	?	-	Report of proceed- ings; prefect inter- rogates decurion Iulius.
<b><i>P.Laur.</i> III 60</b>	iii	Oxy.	Beneficiarius "of the prefect of Eg." Aur. Ampelius	Petition re killing of sow by unknown persons

<sup>43</sup> For the title see *P.Cair.Isid.* 63, introd.

<b>P.Oxy. XLVI 3304</b>	6.6.301	Oxy.	Beneficiarius "on duty"	Affidavit sworn before beneficiarius.
<b>P.Oxy. XVIII 2187</b>	13.1.304 (BL VI 105)	Oxy.	(logistes)	Petition re inheritance; prefect appointed beneficiarius "on duty" and 2 bouleutae as logothetae.
<b>P.Cair.Isid. 129</b>	308/9	Karanis, ArsH.	From centurion	Order to arrest.
<b>SB XIV 11975</b>	c.325	Hermopolis, Herm.	From centurion, Valerius Dionysius	Order to exactor to send persons to <i>praeses Thebaidos</i> .
<b>P.Fay. 38 = Doc.Eserc.Rom. 70</b>	iii/iv	Euhemeria, ArsTh.	From centurion, Domitius Annianus	Order to appoint watchman.
<b>P.Oxy. I 64 = W.Chrest. 475</b>	iii/iv	Oxy.	From decurion	Order to arrest.
<b>P.Oxy. I 65 = Sel.Pap. II 232</b>	iii/iv	Oxy.	From beneficiarius "on duty"	Order to arrest.
<b>P.Lips. I 64. 50ff</b>	368	Thebaid	From centurion, Fl. Arius	Request to send 2 persons in response to petition.
<b>P.Oxy. XLIX 3480</b>	c.360-390	Oxy.	Beneficiarius of office of <i>praeses Augustamnicae</i>	Petition re assault and refusal to pay debt.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

PAPAPOLYCHRONIOU, EUSTATHIOS (ed.), *Greek Papyri in the Benaki Museum. From the Collections of the Historical Archives*. Athens: Benaki Museum; 2000. 158 pages including 7 plates. ISBN 960-8452-78-3.

This pocket-sized book (abbreviated as *P.Benaki*) brings together the Greek documents from the collection of Greek, Coptic and Arabic papyri that was recently rediscovered during the renovation works in the historical archives of the Benaki Museum in Athens. As the curator (V. Tselikas) explains in the *Πρόλογος-Foreword* (pp. 9-11), the book focuses on five Greek texts written on papyrus between the first century B.C. and the fifth century A.D. and a waxed tablet of the sixth century A.D. These documents were studied by Eustathios Papapolychroniou (whom I shall call P. from now on) in the context of a doctoral thesis submitted to the University of Athens in 1996.<sup>1</sup>

The book opens with a *Preface* (pp. 13-5), in which P. sketches the historical background of the collection and gives some information about the acquisition of each papyrus. Then there are the editions, with commentary, of the following items: **1**, a receipt for ὑποκείμενον τῆς λαογραφίας written in Bakchias (Arsinoite nome) in either 25 B.C. or A.D. 19; **2**, a lease of a house in the village of Kaine (Herakleopolite nome) from the second half of the fourth century (possibly A.D. 384); **3**, a list of soldiers from Hermopolis Magna dating to the first half of the fifth century; **4** and **5**, two Christian private letters written on the same sheet of papyrus in the fourth-century Arsinoite; **6** and **7**, an account and a writing exercise inscribed on each side of a waxed tablet, coming possibly from the

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<sup>1</sup> I wish to thank Prof. A.K. Bowman and Dr. N. Gonis, who have commented on an earlier draft of this review.

Arsinoite nome. Each document receives a detailed and informative introduction, which summarizes the most recent literature and lists parallel documents; there follows a full edition with critical apparatus and notes. 1 has an additional *Excursus* (pp. 47-56) which lists and briefly comments on the extant references in the Greek papyri to the category of taxes and levies called ὑποκείμενα, referred to in the text (see below). The book concludes with a summary of the texts (*Περίληψη*, p. 152) in modern Greek, and by the usual *Indexes* (pp. 155-8).

*P.Benaki* 1 merits closer attention. This document records the payment of 12 drachmas for ὑποκείμενον τῆς λαογραφίας on the part of the public farmers of Bakchias to an official called Ammonios, described as ὁ πρὸς τῇ λαογραφίᾳ of the Arsinoite nome. The document bears no precise date; it was issued in the fifth year of an unnamed ruler, who was identified with either Augustus or Tiberius on the basis of the script. In his edition, P. reads the dating formula in l. 9 as Ἔτους ζ Αὐ(δναίου) κ̄, which would convert to 17 November of the sixth year of Augustus or Tiberius (25 B.C. or A.D. 19). Subsequently, J.M.S. Cowey<sup>2</sup> has offered the correction to Ἔτου<c> ε Φάμε(νὸν) ιδ̄, "Year 5, Phamenoth 14," that is, 10 March 25 B.C. or A.D. 19. It is worth noting that the method of dating by writing the year alone, without any mention of the name of the ruler, is attested in the Ptolemaic period, but finds parallels in papyri of the Roman period; see for instance two Augustan documents, *BGU* XVI 2607 (15 B.C.) and XVI 2658 (16 B.C.), where the genitive Καίσαρος is understood. A similar way of dating was employed in Demotic documents too, such as the ostrakon *O.Mattha* 31 dated to the 29<sup>th</sup> year of Augustus. This method of dating, however, appears also in documents written under Tiberius, and as late as Gaius.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> J.M.S. Cowey, "A Note on P.Ben.Mus. 1," *ZPE* 135 (2001) 178.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the dating formula that omits the name of the ruler in *P.Mich.* V 253 (A.D. 30), a contract for the sale of a share of two rooms that was written in Demotic with a Greek subscription. The date was written in Greek as the 16<sup>th</sup> year of an unknown ruler; that it was the 16<sup>th</sup> year of Tiberius is shown by the Demotic text. *P.Ryl.* II 230.12, 231.12, and *P.Lond.* III 893 (p. 43) = *P.Ryl.* II, p. 381 are dated to the second year of an unnamed emperor (cf. *BL Konkordanz*, 174; VIII, 296), and parallels show that they were written in A.D. 40. Other

P. interprets the term ὑποκείμενον, here for the first time combined with λαογραφία, as "salary" or "allowance", that is, as "the tax levied to the benefit of a state official's bureau in order to guarantee its regular function" (pp. 30-1); he argues that it was "an occasional levy for the benefit of Ammonios and his associates" (p. 35). One might wonder whether the λαογραφία in 1 could be the poll tax rather than the census. In fact, it seems that under the Ptolemies λαογραφία meant "registration of *laoi*", that is, of Egyptian people, while under Roman rule it came to indicate both the operation of the census and the provincial poll tax.<sup>4</sup> In addition, as P. notes (pp. 31-3), the term ὑποκείμενον followed by the name of a tax in the genitive may have indicated the tax in question, as in the case of ὑποκείμενον βαλανείου in *SB XVIII* 13087.7 (4 B.C.) or of ὑποκείμενον ἐννομίου in *P.Ryl.* II 213.73 (second century A.D.). In other documents ὑποκείμενον is followed by the genitive of the name of an official, e.g. ἐπιστρατηγοῦ, or the dative of the name of an office, e.g. βασιλικῇ γραμματεία (cf. pp. 47-56).<sup>5</sup> There are however no parallels for the expression ὑποκείμενον τῆς λαογραφίας to indicate the Roman poll tax in Egypt. In sum, I agree with P. that the term ὑποκείμενον is "merely book-keeping terminology, indicating under which heading in the accounting books are registered specific payments" (cf. 48, n. 7). For this reason, the possibility that the expression ὑποκείμενον τῆς λαογραφίας could indicate the collective payment for the provincial poll tax by the community of the public

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documents dated by the year and the month alone are: *P.Oxy.* II 296.9, *P.Vind. Sal.* 21.9 (which was dated to A.D. 15 on palaeographical basis by N. Gonis, *AnalPap* 8-9 (1996-7) 223, n. 9), *P.Fay.* 109.14 (which was found with Augustan documents; on the text cf. N. Gonis, *ZPE* 119 (1997) 140), *BGU* II 665.3.9 (+ *BL Konkordanz* 24-5), *PUG* II 60 and 61, and *P.IFAO* I 17.5 (which the *ed.pr.* assigned to A.D. 54 on the basis of the script).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. D.W. Rathbone, "Egypt, Augustus and Roman taxation", *Cahiers du Centre G.Glotz* 4 (1993) 88.

<sup>5</sup> On ὑποκείμενον βασιλικῇ γραμματεία cf. Th. Kruse, *Der königliche Schreiber und die Gauverwaltung. Untersuchungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte Ägyptens in der Zeit von Augustus bis Philippus Arabs (30 v.Chr. – 245 n.Chr.)* (2002) 56-9.

farmers of Bakchias (at the rate of 12 drachmas per head) may be ruled out.

It is likely that the ὑποκείμενον referred to by 1 was, as P. suggests, a contribution levied for the official who took the census. This makes the document a very important one: if the date of 25 B.C. is correct, it would prove that Augustus took censuses soon after the Roman conquest of Egypt, and before 11/10 B.C., the date of the first of the periodical censuses Augustus held in Egypt according to the most recent hypothesis.<sup>6</sup> If 1 had been written in A.D. 19/20, on the other hand, it would be an essential piece of evidence for the census in that year, which so far is documented only by *P.Oxy.* II 254, a fragmentary census-declaration that bears no date, but was assigned to A.D. 19/20 on the basis of the identification of the addressees.<sup>7</sup> In my opinion, it is more likely that 1 was written in connection with the census of A.D. 19/20 rather than in 25 B.C., because there is no other evidence that a census was taken in Egypt as early as in 25 B.C., while it seems almost certain that a census was taken in A.D. 19, and every fifteen years thereafter.

A further point of interest is that the document refers to a previously unknown official, called ὁ πρὸς τῇ λαογραφίᾳ τοῦ νομοῦ. P. points out (p. 36) that this was the typical way of indicating the chief official responsible for the tax farming of a nome during the Ptolemaic period; P. compares this official with ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἐννομίῳ, the farmer of the pasture-tax, who is attested in the Ptolemaic period and occurs in some Augustan papyri (e.g. *BGU* XVI 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2587 all dating from 13 B.C.). In my view, another parallel could be the Ptolemaic official called ὁ πρὸς τῇ συντάξει of the katoikic cavalry, discussed by G. Geraci, "L'

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<sup>6</sup> R.S. Bagnall, "The Beginnings of the Roman Census in Egypt," *GRBS* 32 (1991) 255-65; R.S. Bagnall and B.W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (1994) 2-5.

<sup>7</sup> The declaration was addressed to Euthychides and Theon, the τοπογράμματαυς and κομογραμματαυς of Oxyrhynchus; these officials are also addressed in *P.Oxy.* II 252 and *P.Mich.* X 580, which are certainly dated A.D. 19/20. However, it is not impossible that E. and Th. had long terms of office, and that *P.Oxy.* II 254 referred to the census in A.D. 33/4. On this document cf. Bagnall and Frier, *op.cit.* (above, n. 6) 3.



ὁ πρὸς τῇ συντάξει. Note sull'amministrazione militare nell'Egitto tolemaico," *Pap.Congr.* XVI (1981) 267-76. The term σύνταξις had different meanings in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, which have not yet been fully explained. It is possible that it indicated originally the "enumeration", the "settlement" of a group of people (e.g. the Greek κάτοικοι) on the land, or the "assignment" of a tax to be levied on them, and acquired subsequently the sense of "capitation tax based on an enumeration of people."<sup>8</sup>

In the Ptolemaic period two officials, ὁ πρὸς τῇ λαογραφίᾳ and ὁ πρὸς τῇ συντάξει, may have dealt with the registration for fiscal purposes of two fiscal/social categories of people: respectively, the Egyptian population (λαοί) and the Greek κάτοικοι. Documents show that the jurisdiction of the official in charge of the σύνταξις encompassed one nome.<sup>9</sup> Similarly, the fact that in 1 Ammonios is called ὁ πρὸς τῇ λαογραφίᾳ τοῦ νομοῦ may support the (unsurprising) notion that in the early Roman period the census was conducted nome by nome.

Under Augustus, the Ptolemaic σύνταξις gave way or was assimilated to the Roman poll tax, called λαογραφία,<sup>10</sup> and this may be the reason why in the Roman period the evidence of ὁ πρὸς τῇ συντάξει dies out. In the Roman period, however, the term λαογραφία continued to indicate the census as well; this makes it possible that, under Augustus and possibly Tiberius, the official in charge of the census was still called, in the Ptolemaic fashion, ὁ πρὸς τῇ λαογραφίᾳ.

One may wonder why there are no references to ὁ πρὸς τῇ λαογραφίᾳ in Roman documents of later date. A possible explanation is that the denomination ὁ πρὸς τῇ λαογραφίᾳ was replaced by the term λαογράφος, which became the standard way to indicate

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<sup>8</sup> On the Ptolemaic σύνταξις cf. Cl. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (1939) 384-6.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Geraci, *op.cit.* 276.

<sup>10</sup> In the Arsinoite nome, from the Augustan period, one finds the expressions λαϊκὴ σύνταξις and συντάξιμον along with the terms σύνταξις and λαογραφία to indicate the capitation taxes; cf. V. Tcherikover, "*Syntaxis and laographia*," *JJP* 4 (1950) 181-2; Rathbone, *op.cit.* (above, n. 4) 91-2 and n. 33.

the officials who took the census and collected the poll tax.<sup>11</sup> The earliest occurrence of a λαογράφος in the Arsinoite nome is *SB X 10759.1* of 33/4; it thus seems possible that the change in terminology from ὁ πρὸς τῇ λαογραφίᾳ to λαογράφος took place at some point under Tiberius. Naturally, however, it is not guaranteed that this change took place at the same time throughout Egypt.<sup>12</sup>

To sum up, **1** is an important item of evidence that proves the existence of a previously unknown official (ὁ πρὸς τῇ λαογραφίᾳ); besides, it gives evidence for a census in either 25 B.C. or A.D. 19/20, and informs us about the existence of an unprecedented ὑποκείμενον, which was raised at local level to fund the operation of census. This document alone makes *P.Benaki* a significant contribution to the study of the administration of Egypt under Roman rule.

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<sup>11</sup> On the λαογράφος see my note in *ZPE* 140 (2002) 179.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the references to officials called συντακτικοί in *P.Tebt.* I 120.50; 191 and 253 of the first century BC (see Geraci, *op.cit.* 276 and n. 49). It is unclear what linked them with the official in charge of the σύνταξις.

SCHÜSSLER, KARLHEINZ (ed.), *Biblia Coptica. Die koptischen Bibeltexte, Band I. Das sahidische Alte und Neue Testament: Lieferung 4: sa 93-120*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz; 2000. vii + 168 including 7 plates. ISBN 3-447-04281-8.

This fourth fascicule completes the first volume (of a planned 6) of *Biblia Coptica*. It is devoted to Sahidic witnesses to the Old Testament, New Testament texts featuring only where they appear in manuscripts also containing OT material. The work fills a huge gap in Coptic and biblical studies, allowing easy access to information on both the relevant manuscripts themselves, and their contents, for which previous researchers have had to rely either on their own knowledge, or on consultation of disparate (and at times obscure) listings.

Taken together, *Biblia Coptica* Band I contains entries for 120 manuscripts. Lieferung 4 provides information on 28 (sa 93–120 in the numeration employed by Schüssler), comprising 11 on papyrus, 13 on parchment, 2 on paper and 2 on ostraca. Testimonies to the text of the Sahidic Bible are recorded regardless of material (contrast the *Repertorium der griechischen christlichen Papyri*, collected to the exclusion of important testimony on other materials); citations in lectionaries, schoolbooks, and other miscellaneous texts are also included (signaled with a superscript L, ex, and div respectively following the sa number). The texts in this fascicule range in date from III/IV (sa 120) to XIV A.D. (sa 96, 108<sup>L</sup>). Not unsurprisingly, the earliest is on papyrus, the latest on paper (summarized at p. 2).

The introduction (pp. 1-2) provides a succinct testament to the value of the enterprise to Coptic biblical and codicological studies. One text was formerly unknown (sa 100); a further 15 have had their content and codicological context identified. Texts which were listed separately in earlier catalogues or editions have been found to be from the same codex (see esp. the 2<sup>nd</sup> para. on p. 2); some suggested connections are here disproved.

Rightly, codicological reconstruction has been a goal from the beginning of the project. Given the state in which many Coptic codi-

ces arrived in their various modern collections, criticism of earlier efforts would be in many cases unfair. But this should not detract from the painstaking work in evidence here, which includes the collection of information on many unpublished texts.

Following the schema laid out in *Lieferung* 1, pp. 2-3, each entry begins with an sa number and general title (e.g. "Ecclesiasten-Codex," "Schreibübung," "Amulett," "Bilingue Lektionarhandschrift (Koptische/Arabisch) für die Karwoche"), then lays out relevant data: modern location(s) and contents are listed; physical construction and characteristics ("Aufbau") are summarized in a paragraph; quires, sheets, pages, sa numbers and contents are set forth in diagrammatic form; date, material, extent of survival (in terms both of pages and physical measurements), columns, lines, measurements of the inscribed area, and intercolumnar width are recorded, followed by a thorough description of the script. Relevant literature and miscellaneous observations ("Sonstiges") are listed last. Information on provenance and purchase-history, where it is known, is listed under the last heading. Where (as not infrequently) divergent opinions of dating exist, all the opinions are listed (see e.g. sa 105<sup>L</sup>); where no date has been previously assigned, S. ventures his own opinion.

The description of the script is in each case detailed and scientific. Where the text is now lost (e.g. sa 96), earlier observations are carefully recorded. From a general description of the script, each entry descends to a great degree of detail, including the height, and the style and formation of many letters. Here also marginal illuminations and the style of titles are recorded, as well as detail on punctuation.

In the many cases in which more than one page (in whole or part) of a codex survives, information is then given on the contents, modern location, edition, extent, measurements, pagination, and number of lines of each, as well as literature and miscellaneous observations, which here gives details unique to the contents, measurements and format of each page.

The 28 entries are followed by an Index ("Register") to Lief. 4, organized under the same headings as are utilized later in the volume for the Gesamtregister (see below). Following this come 7 plates. In contrast to earlier volumes, the plates give small and in

some cases magnified excerpts from each text. This has the advantage of being easily able to compare styles of individual letters between various texts. But observations about, e.g., page layout are more difficult to make. Nor is every letter represented on the plates (e.g. no *omega* features in the plate of sa 111; no *janjia* in that for sa 98, no *theta* in that for sa 102). The plates in earlier fascicules reproduced whole pages reduced to the c. 11x7 cm format; these were at times difficult to read, but (as with the plate of sa 108<sup>L</sup> here) such reproductions seem preferable to the "snippets" generally preferred in Lief. 4; despite the small size, one can form a clear idea of letterforms, lineation, and page format. To be sure, this would not work for all texts, particularly those for which the reproductions are poor (e.g. sa 106); nor, of course, does a full page of every text survive. A useful supplement to the series would be a volume devoted to more extensive reproductions, giving at least one full page of each text on a larger scale. There are of course cost-of-production issues to be kept in mind, but Coptic cries out for a new palaeographical manual, and such a supplement to *Biblia Coptica* would form an excellent basis for work towards such a tool.

Pp. 117-26 are devoted to *addenda et corrigenda*, including details for newly-discovered codex pages, and bringing the bibliography up to date to 2000; to sa 15 should now be added the discussion of S. Emmel, "A Question of Codicological Terminology: Revisiting GB-BL Or. 7594 to Find the Meaning of 'Papyrus Fiber Pattern'," in W. Beltz *et al.* (eds.), *Sprache und Geist. Peter Nagel zum 65. Geburtstag*. (Halle 2003).

The volume closes with a detailed Gesamtregister, indexing information for the 120 entries in fasc. 1-4, which may constitute the most valuable part of the whole enterprise. Texts are listed by the material on which they are written, then a table lists the date, material, contents, and modern locations of each sa number in the order in which they appear in the volume. An extremely detailed list then presents the texts under their modern collections (arranged alphabetically from Ann Arbor to "Unbekannter Standort"). The list is broken down to the smallest bibliographical unit employed by each collection (e.g. the Bodmer codices are listed as unitary entities, while texts from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris are listed according to the number and folio): sa number, material, number of

pages or fragments, date, and contents are given for each. Then comes perhaps the most useful index, listing the contents of each witness in scriptural order and indicating in which sa number each appears. One can thus easily see what manuscripts preserve parts of any particular books, and whether a particular passage has a papyrological witness. Following the focus of Band I, the Old Testament has the longest list; a shorter list gives NT passages where they have appeared, mainly in Lectionaries. Liturgical and miscellaneous texts, colophons, and unidentified texts are noted briefly. Greek, Arabic and Syriac texts are noted last. The volume closes with concordances between *Biblia Coptica* and other catalogues and editions.

With this work, Schüssler has placed the study of the Coptic Bible on an immeasurably sounder footing. Volume 1 of *Biblia Coptica* is an indispensable research tool, and future volumes are eagerly awaited.

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RUPPRECHT, H-A. and A.M.F.W. VERHOOGT (eds.) *Berichtungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten. Elfter Band*. Zusammengestellt von N. Kruit; unter Mitarbeit von J. Hengstl, L.E. Tacoma. Leiden: Brill; 2002. x + 354 pages. ISBN 90-04-12141-2.

Readers of this journal will not need preliminaries on the nature, scope and importance of this volume. We are all in the debt of the compilers of this indispensable publication, "one of the two most essential research tools in the field."<sup>1</sup>

*BL* XI collects corrections that mostly appeared in works published between 1995 and 1998; it includes some material from earlier publications, while sometimes later literature creeps in.<sup>2</sup> Text editions apart, the books and journals that have been checked make long, and impressive, lists. Besides this "old" material, a fair number of corrections appear here for the first time; naturally, these claim particular attention. Some of them were submitted *brieflich* by a handful of scholars; most are contributed by the *BL* editors and compilers,<sup>3</sup> chiefly N. Kruit. These latter *Berichtigungen*, to which we shall return later, fall into two categories: new corrections; refinements or rejections of corrections suggested by others.

The *BL* is mostly a collection of notes on details, big and small; a review on such a work can easily take a very similar form. What follows is just that.

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<sup>1</sup> J.F. Oates, <review of *BL* IX> *BASP* 32 (1995) 203. In 1995, the other essential tool was the *Duke Data Bank of Documentary Papyri*; one would add the *Bibliographie Papyrologique*, and now the *Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens*.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. p. 51 on *P.Brook*. 25.6 & 16. A curious case is *AnalPap* 10–11 (1998–9), published in November 2000; this issue does not figure in the "Verzeichnis der durchgesehenen Zeitschriften" (p. 317), but two of the articles that appear in it have been fully excerpted (others are not).

<sup>3</sup> Occasionally corrections made *brieflich* or by persons involved in the preparation of the *BL* have appeared in publications postdating 1998, but more than a year before the closing date of the volume: on *P.Col.* X 265 (p. 65), see W. Habermann, *ZPE* 126 (1999) 205–6; on *P.Col.* XI 303 (p. 66), see A. Papathomas, *ZPE* 128 (1999) 167–8; on *CPR* IV 2.14, see *BMCR* 2001.02.13.

Some of the corrections reported invite further comment; I list a few that caught my attention (an asterisk marks a correction that first appears, or is qualified, in *BL* XI).

\**BGU* I 315.4. "ἐπ' Ἀρσινόης † → ἐν Ἀρσινόῃ †, vgl. *N. Kruit* bei *I.J. Poll - K.A. Worp*, *B.A.S.P.* 33 (1996), S. 76, Anm. 6 und das Photo" (p. 16). This is a fairly important issue, but appears to have been somewhat confounded. In *BASP* 33 (1996) 76 n. 6, we read: "Another misreading of ἐπ' for ἐν is to be found in *BGU* I 315.4 (cf. the plate in Wilcken's *Tafeln* XVIII.b and *P.Tebt.* II p. 370); we owe this reference to the kindness of N. Kruit (Leiden)." But in *P.Tebt.* II p. 370, one finds, "we prefer ἐν Ἀρσινόῃς, sc. πόλει." So far as I can see from the plate, ἐν Ἀρσινόῃς† is the only possible reading. We may thus have secured the resolution ἐν Ἀρ( ), which occurs immediately after the dating clause in Arsinoite documents; compare the constructions ἐν Ὀξύρυγχων or ἐν Ἡρακλείους, which occur in similar contexts. Alas, this remains an isolated case.

\**BGU* III 985.3 (p. 23). The suggestion to restore Ὀωτηρίου in a text of 123/4 is off the mark: this month-name is not attested after the end of the reign of Domitian.<sup>4</sup>

\**P.Gen.* I 27.14–16. An old correction has been rejected, and a new reading has tentatively been suggested; however, Kruit thinks that "der Sinn von ὡς ἔστι bleibt dann unklar" (p. 83). But it is hardly "unklar;" ἔστι (note the accent) is equivalent to ὑπάρχει; cf. *P.Mich.* III 180.12.

\**P.Kellis* I 19a and 19a App. have received new editions. In the case of 19a App., we are told that "[d]er ... vorgeschlagenen [*sic*] Text ist nicht als N[eu]d[ruck] zu betrachten, weil die Länge der Ergänzungen] stark fluktuiert;" as for 19a, "die Rekonstruktion basiert auf der Rekonstruktion von P.Kellis 19 a App., siehe die Ber. dazu" (p. 99). The reeditions thus dismissed differ from the first editions in several places; but none of the changes was considered worthy of report. True, some of these changes raise eyebrows; but to treat all of them in this manner is hardly acceptable. (The

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<sup>4</sup> See K. Scott, "Greek and Roman Honorific Months," *YCS* 2 (1931) 259; subsequent publications have not altered the picture. (The problem was first pointed out to me by D. Hagedorn.)



two texts have now been republished as *SB* XXIV 15901 and 16320.)

\**P.Laur.* II 48.1. "Der Vorschlag παρούσης zu lesen statt παρ'<ούς>οις, l. παρούσης (so *N. Gonis*, *Z.P.E.* 119 (1997), S. 154, Anm. 29) ist abzulehnen (nach den Photo)" (p. 106). I now read παροςης (υ must have slipped in subconsciously in the first place); I am still happy with taking the putative apostrophe as a tiny ο.

*P.Mich.* XV 749. "Herkunft: Edfou (vgl. die Ein[leitung]), *J.-L. Fournet - J. Gascou*, *B.I.F.A.O.* 98 (1998), S. 171, Anm. 3. 186" (p. 134). This means that the papyrus was assigned a new provenance (Edfu), but that this had already been alluded to in *ed.pr.*'s introduction. Yet there is nothing in *ed.pr.* to suggest that the editor had thought of Edfu. The text is an account of barley for *embole*<sup>5</sup> provided by a monastery of Thomas (μον(α)τηρίου) [Θ]ωμᾶς, collected from properties in various localities, including one in a πόλις Ἀπόλλωνος. The editor thought that the text may originate from this city or its vicinity, and went on to refer to a Dair Tuma, situated in longitude 31° and latitude 27°–26°; this is the monastery of Apa Thomas at Wadi Sarga, which was in fact located near Kom Esfahat, the Ἀπόλλωνος πόλις μικρά (Ἑπτακωμίας).<sup>6</sup> The same identification has been proposed by S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* 3.1403 n.5, and is reported in *BL* VIII 220 as "[Θ]ωμᾶς → wohl [ἀπᾶ (sic) Θ]ωμᾶς" (but there is no other comment on the provenance of the papyrus).<sup>7</sup>

*P.Oxy.* VI 922 (p. 146). There is no need to identify ὁ κύριος Φιλόξενος with the Apion banker of this name. A photograph indicates that *ed.pr.*'s (palaeographical) dating should be retained.

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<sup>5</sup> Not destined for "Constantinople (or Alexandria?)" as the editor thought; given that the papyrus dates to the early Islamic period, the destination of the shipment will have been the granaries of al-Fustat.

<sup>6</sup> This monastery recurs in *SB* XXIV 16122.2, where read πέτρ(α)ς ἀββ(α) Θωμᾶ (Πέτρ(ου) Ἀββ(ᾶ) Θωμᾶ *ed.pr.*).

<sup>7</sup> One may query whether Τερωτ in l. 6 is a Coptic version of Greek Τερῶθις, a village in the same area; but the Coptic name of the village elsewhere is different, see Timm, *op.cit.* 2.293–5.

*P.Oxy.* VII 1030.10 (p. 146). διελ(ηλυθότι), is only a theoretical alternative: the collocation τὸ διεληλυθὸς ἔτος *vel sim.* is rare in Oxyrhynchite documents dating from after the first century.

*P.Prag.* II 158.3 "ἀγροτηρίου: l. ἀκρωτηρίου" (p. 181). The plate allows reading ἀγιακτηρίου (suggested by J.R. Rea), a word not attested otherwise in papyri.

\**P.Princ.* II 102.15 (p. 183). The reading proposed by Kruit is hard to confirm on the plate.

*P.Sorb.* II 69.54.B.3 "ἀπέκδ(ίκου) [*sic*] → wohl ἀπ<ὸ> ἐκδ(ίκων)" (p. 253). The correction is not necessary; cf. B. Palme, *CPR* XXIV 8.1 n.

\**PSI Congr.* XXI 18.10. The enigmatic αζαριν has been discussed by J. Kramer in *APF* 42 (1996) 224; the likeliest equivalent, he argues, is Modern Greek ἀτάρι; ἀξ(ων)άριον and ἀζάλιον are other, albeit less likely, possibilities. A. López García, *AnalPap* 8–9 (1996–7) [1998] 231, suggested reading ἀccάριον. The *BL* entry (p. 253) first cites the latter proposal, which is dismissed, "weil hier ohne Bedeutung;" it proceeds with the (new) suggestion, "Viell. ist ἀττατάριον, „Leuchter“, gemeint, vgl. dazu I. Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser, [Lex.Lat.Lehn.], S. 112-114," and then refers to "[a]ndere Vorschläge" in Kramer's article. The index of suggested new readings records ἀττατάριον (p. 333) but none of Kramer's suggestions, and specifies that the word does not feature in Preisigke and LSJ. The merits (if any) of \*ἀττατάριον, especially vis-à-vis the words it displaced from the index, are not specified; also unexplained is how \*ἀττατάριον became αζαριν.

\**P.Sta.Xyla* 9.4. "μη[τρὸς ± 18 χρ]ηματίζουσα → μη[τρὸς N.N, χωρὶς κυρίου ἀνδρὸς χρ]ηματίζουσα ...; so gibt es aber kaum Platz für den Namen der Mutter" (p. 254). But in what other context would χρ]ηματίζουσα fit? We gain some room for manoeuvre if we omit ἀνδρὸς, though this renders the expression less idiomatic for this period.

*SB XVI* 12229.3 (p. 216) Οἰαλέριος is probably a misprint for Οὐαλέριος.

\**SB XX* 15101.5 (p. 235). The problem detected by Kruit is a real one, but the alternative proposed finds no parallel in the correspondence of Qorra b. Sharik.

\**Stud.Pal.* V 118e.1. "[D]er Vorschlag ... τῆς λα[μ]προτάτης πόλεως τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων zu erg[änzen] statt τῆς λα[μ]προτάτης Ἀλεξανδρείας ist zwar richtig auf Grund des Formulars, aber es könnte sich auch um einen Beamten einer anderen Stadt (z.B. Oxyrhynchos) handeln" (p. 260). The change is not strictly necessary, cf. e.g. *P.Oxy.* IX 1199.11 (III), XXXVIII 2854.28–9 (248), or *SB* XIV 12190.9 (297), but it restores the statistically better represented collocation. Whether the reference is to Alexandria cannot indeed be established; the collocation *office* + τῆς λαμπροτάτης + *city* is commonly found in connection with Alexandria, but there are a few examples with Hermopolite councillors (the papyrus comes from Hermopolis). There is no such example from Oxyrhynchus.

Corrections are reported with the customary high degree of accuracy. The very few misunderstandings that may exist do not alter the picture. I noticed five that relate to contributions of which I was already aware (four of the five concern works of the same author). In *P.Köln* VII 318.4 (p. 105), the reading credited to Carrara was only confirmed by him. *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 5.42 is said to have been written "von einer neuen Hand" (p. 188); but the source of the *Berichtigung* has, "nella γνῶσις finale (l. 42 ss.), in un'altra grafia": lines 42ff. were penned in a different style of writing from that of the rest of the text. *P.Lond.* V 1808 and *P.Wash.Univ.* I 28 are stated to belong to the "Apionen-Korrespondenz" (pp. 121, 289); but the source speaks of the "archivio degli Apioni," and the texts are accounts. The version of *SB* XVIII 13297 printed in *Le Muséon* 106 (1993) 26 is called a "N[eu]d[ruck]," and one hears of "die dort vorgeschlagene [*sic*] Neulesungen" (p. 224); but that version was intended to be the *editio princeps*, since the *editio princeps* proper was unknown to the second editor. In *Stud.Pal.* VIII 899.2–3, "τῆ(c) θεοφυλάκτου | κυ.. (wohl κυρᾱc für κυρίαc) (*BL* 10, S. 265) → τῆ(c) θεοφυλάκτου | Κύρου, *F. Morelli*, [Olio e retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo], S. 32, Anm. 95; vgl. *Stud.Pal.* 8. 931, 945 und *SB* 20. 15002 mit derselben [*sic*] Ausdruck κ(α)τ(ᾱ) κέ(λευσιν) τοῦ θεοφυλ(άκτου) Κύρου und die Abzeichnung" (p. 261). But Morelli did not alter Cyrus' gender; all he said was, "questa lettura [= the reading recorded in *BL* X] è poco convincente." For my part, I should add that

τῆ(ς) must be a misreading for τ(ο)ῦ; superscript υ might resemble η in texts of this period, and be misread.<sup>8</sup>

There are a number of false accents and breathings, not all of them mis-prints (but some go back to the original correctors); I have spotted the following: *P.Bad.* II 19b.22 (p. 9) Πατρῆ → Πάτρη; *BGU* II 590.14 (p. 19) δακτυλ]εῖα → δακτύλ]εια; III 900.28–9 (p. 21) προγεγρ(άμμενα) → προγεγρ(αμμένα); III 912.51 (p. 22) Νή(ςϖ) → Νή(ςω); IV 1125.16 (p. 24) Γαῖος → Γάιος; *P.Berl.Frisk* 1 i 2 (p. 36) κτηνότροφοι → κτηνοτρόφοι; *P.Coll.Youtie* II 85.4 (p. 60) τούτο → τοῦτο; *CPR* XVIII 30.125 (p. 73) ὀκτω → ὀκτώ; *P.Erl.* 55.6 (p. 77) οἰνοκρέον → οἰνόκρεον; *P.Fouad* 36.31 (p. 82) ἀπλώς → ἀπλῶς; *P.Harr.* I 80.11 (p. 89) ἀρουρας → ἀρούρας (*bis*), τεccάρας → τέccαρας; *P.IFAO* II 30.4 (p. 97) ἀβασκαντῶν → ἀβασκάντων; ; *P.Matr.* 2.27, 29 (p. 128) [ς]ου, τοῦτων → [ς]οῦ, τούτων; *MPER* XVI 173.5 (p. 137) ἐστι → ἐστι; *P.Oxy.* XVI 1911.66 (p. 154) ciτου → ciτον; XXII 2342.19 (p. 161) πεντακισχίλαιοι → πεντακισχίλαιοι; XXIV 2408.6 (p. 162) ὑποδέκ[τω]ν → ὑποδεκ[τῶ]ν; XLVIII 3386.4 (p. 169) Ἀχιλλεύς → Ἀχιλλεύς; *P.Petr.* II 39(h).i.4–5 (p. 177) Ἀλεξαν[δ]ρείαν → Ἀλεξαν[δ]ρειαν; *P.Princ.* III 162.14 ἐρρῶςθαι → ἐρρῶςθαι (sim. 189.19) [my mistake in the first place]; III 186.14 (p. 183) θελῆς → θέλης; *P.Ross.Georg.* II 40.4 (p. 186) Ἰεραξ → Ἰέραξ; II 2.2 (p. 187) ιατροῦ → ιατροῦ; *SB* VI 9331r.5 (p. 206) αὐτης → αὐτῆς; VI 9415 (23) 9 (p. 207) Ἐρ[ρω]σθαι → ἐρ[ρῶ]ςθαι (sim. (24) 6–7); XVI 13003.14 (p. 221) ἐλ<θ>οῦςης → ἐλ<θ>οῦςης; XVIII 13086.66 (p. 222) Ἐρ[ρ]ῶςθε → Ἐρ[ρ]ῶςθε [NB: this part of the text is not printed in *SB*]; XX 14400.1 (p. 229) μεγαλο]πρε(πεστατῶ) → μεγαλο]πρε(πεστάτω); XXII 15688 (p. 240) Λίονιτης → Λιονίτης; *P.S.A.Athen.* 29.13 (p. 242) φᾶσιν → φασιν; *PSI* VII 781.9 (p. 247) τρα(πέζη) → τρα(πέξη); *P.Strasb.* VIII 716.7 (p. 257) ἀπαιτηθῆναι → ἀπαιτηθῆναι; *Stud.Pal.* X 251(b).7, 13 (p. 265) με(τῶν) → μέ(τρων); XX 83.iv.10 (p. 267) (ἀρουρας) → (ἀρούρας); *P.Tebt.* IV 1115.122 (p. 283) χο(ρτο)[νό(μαις)] → χο(ρτο)[νο(μαῖς)]; *O. Aberd.* 80.2 (p. 293) ἄχ(υροπαραλήμπται) → ἄχ(υροπαραλήμπται); *O.Wilck.* 89–92, 95 (pp. 303–4) διακειμένου → διακειμένου. In the indices (V only): νομαρχῆς → νομάρχης; ἡμερα → ἡμέρα; θανατός → θάνατος; μητροπόλις → μητρόπολις; πύργιον → πυργίον.

Other problems with the Greek (some of them are typos, while others go back to the original correctors): *P.Berl.Frisk* 1 xxvi 19, 20 (p. 39) (ἀρτάβας) → (ἀρτάβης); *P.Got.* 39.5–6 (p. 85) τὰς νῦν → τὰ νῦν; *P.Oxy.* XVI 2002.2 (p. 157) περιβλέπ[τ]ης(ς) → περιβλέπ[τ]του; *P.Rain.Cent.* 119.4 (p. 185) ἐπαγωγμένων → ἐπαγομένων; *P.Sakaon* 59.16 (p. 192) ἐπερωτη(θεντεῖς) → ἐπερωτη(θεῖς); *SB* XVIII 13733[.7] (p. 225) ἀπεγράψεν → ἀπεγράψαμεν; *Stud.Pal.* XX 83.4.10 (p. 267) (ἀρουρας) → (ἀρούρης); *P.Tebt.* III 815 fr. 10.6–7 (p. 280)

<sup>8</sup> I doubt there was any need to have special entries referring to the plates of *P.Oxy.* LXI–LXV (pp. 172–4); lists of plates are to be found in the prefatory materials to these volumes.

[c]τραηγίαι → [c]τρατηγίαι. In the indices (V only): δεσποίνη → δέσποινα; ἐνι, which makes up a separate entry, is a form of ἐνεμι; παράλεμψις → παράλημψις; πούλλιος is a *vox nihili*: read που(λ)λίον; φύλλος is another *vox nihili*: read φύλλον; τραλλατος, a Latin loanword, should have appeared in the Greek index, not in the Latin.

At least two of the corrections that make their first appearance in *BL XI* have interesting implications that are not immediately noticeable. One concerns *P.Lond.* III 1073, where Ἀρκα[δί]ας has ceded its way to Ἀρκάδιος (p. 113), and thus the curious κόμης Ἀρκαδίας has been eliminated.<sup>9</sup> The other is the dating of *SB XXIV* 14093 to the "Anfang arabischer Zeit" (p. 227), which has repercussions on the date of the small Arsinoite archive of Paulos son of Menas; thus *SB XVIII* 13104–6, 13152, and *XX* 14092, previously assigned to the sixth century, should now be placed in the mid to late seventh century.

A very few *addenda*: — "Altersangaben in Zensus, Epheben und Geburtsangaben schließen das Geburtsjahr ein" (p. 1): that expressions such as "ἐτῶν *n*" mean "in their *n*th year", and not "aged *n* years," is not a new discovery; see J.M. Carter, "Eighteen Years Old?," *BICS* 14 (1967) 53–5. — *P.Oxy.* XLIV 3169 (p. 169): the date can be further narrowed to 200–12; see *P.Mich.* XVIII 786 introd. (p. 222 n. 4). — *SB XXII* 15477, alias known as *P.Mich. Aphrod.* (p. 237): "Zur Interpretation" one could also cite a number of other reviews that appeared in 1996–8; see *Bibliographie Papyrologique*, file 94/0320. The problem surrounding *ed.pr.*'s dating was first pointed out by R.S. Bagnall, *BMCR* 6 (1995) 603 n.1 (not in *BL X*). — *Hellenika* 47 (1997) is said to have been checked, but none of the remarks made in G.M. Parássoglou's review of *P.Oxy.* LXII (p. 160) is recorded (for my part, I should note that the text of *P.Oxy.* 4344.6 seems fine as it stands). — The publication *Istituto Papirologico 'G. Vitelli': Comunicazioni* (Firenze 1997), mentioned in *Bibliographie Papyrologique* and in *CdÉ* 73 (1998) 195, was apparently not available at Leiden.

The *BL* "house" corrections call for a separate note. In the past, these were mostly new readings; proposed corrections were rarely evaluated. *BL X* inaugurated a trend that is even more noticeable

<sup>9</sup> Cf. J.G. Keenan, "The Provincial Administration of Egyptian Arcadia," *MPhL* 2 (1977) 194.

in *BL* XI: besides contributing new readings and interpretations, part of the *BL* team seem to have subjected very many of the suggestions of others to scrutiny, and to have uttered their views whenever a problem was thought to occur. Whether the purpose of the *BL* is to list, or to list and evaluate, is an issue that can be debated. Overall, this process has produced much that is good; several infelicities of correctors have been revealed, and certain suggestions have been improved upon. But it has its risks: like the imaginary defendants, the judges do not avoid lapses; and with *BL* entries being of necessity concise, that is sometimes done at the expense of clarity and, more often, style (or grammar). It would have been desirable, especially in the case of original corrections, if this critical work had appeared in print, or electronically, before its inclusion in *BL*. It would thus have been better digested by the public of *BL*, and perhaps been judged on its own merits.

A decade ago, John Oates expressed the wish that the *BL* enters the electronic age.<sup>10</sup> This has taken place, but only in part: the *HGV* offers a concordance of entries in *BL* VIII–XI for each published documentary papyrus, on-line catalogues of papyrus collections contain *BL* references, and the *DDBDP* texts entered in Perseus now take account of the *BL*. One hopes that sooner rather than later the whole corpus becomes available on CD-ROM, or even on the World Wide Web—but this greatly depends on the publisher (and copyright holder). Before that, the *BL* enterprise will have to survive; its very existence has long been under threat, and the future looks as bleak as ever (only that of *BL* XII seems secure at the moment). One *BL* volume does for papyrology what many papyrological books will never do. May the series live on and thrive in the years ahead!

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<sup>10</sup> See *BASP* 32 (1995) 205-6; cf. also R.S. Bagnall, <review of *BL* IX> *JAOS* 116.4 (1996) 766-7.

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